

Renaissance and Reform: The Italian Contribution

Frances A. Yates

Selected Works of Frances Yates

Volume IX



FRANCES YATES

SELECTED WORKS

FRANCES YATES
Selected Works

VOLUME I
The Valois Tapestries

VOLUME II
Giordano Bruno and the Hermetic Tradition

VOLUME III
The Art of Memory

VOLUME IV
The Rosicrucian Enlightenment

VOLUME V
Astraea

VOLUME VI
Shakespeare's Last Plays

VOLUME VII
The Occult Philosophy in the Elizabethan Age

VOLUME VIII
Lull and Bruno

VOLUME IX
Renaissance and Reform: The Italian Contribution

VOLUME X
Ideas and Ideals in the North European Renaissance

FRANCES YATES

Selected Works

Volume IX

*Renaissance and Reform:
The Italian Contribution*



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By the same author

The Art of Memory
Theatre of the World
Giordano Bruno and the Hermetic Tradition
The Rosicrucian Enlightenment
Astraea: The Imperial Theme in the Sixteenth Century
The Valois Tapestries
Shakespeare's Last Plays
The Occult Philosophy in the Elizabethan Age
Lull and Bruno. Collected Essays, Volume I

Frances A. Yates

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COLLECTED ESSAYS

VOLUME II

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EDITORIAL NOTE

THE FIRST VOLUME of her *Collected Essays* was the last work prepared by Dame Frances Yates. She had planned two further volumes, though she left no definitive lists of what they were to contain. The final choice of materials for this volume (and for volume III, which we hope will follow shortly), as well as the sub-title for each volume is, therefore, ours. We acknowledge responsibility for this and for the titles which have been added to some reviews. Titles of reviews which first appeared in the *New York Review of Books* and the *Times Literary Supplement* were added by the sub-editors of those journals.

A few omissions may need explanation. The essay on 'John Florio at the French Embassy' (1929), important though it is in the history of Dame Frances's work, is omitted because of its author's insistence (in the autobiographical fragments to be published in volume III) that it should not be reprinted, since what she considered useful in it was contained in her book *John Florio* (1934, reprinted 1968). The same principle of exclusion has been followed in other instances. A full list of the writings of Frances Yates will appear in volume III of the *Collected Essays*.

Dame Frances's working library has been incorporated in the Library of the Warburg Institute. Her notes, drafts, typescripts, proofs, unpublished lectures and the like are also preserved at the Institute.

The Editors of this volume are indebted for assistance of various kinds to Angela Barlow, Jill Kraye, Anne Marie Meyer and,

EDITORIAL NOTE

especially, to D. P. Walker, whose advice on the selection of articles to be reprinted was invaluable, and who has written the Preface to the volume. The index was made and the proofs read by Judith Wardman. The staff of the Photographic Collection at the Warburg Institute gave valuable help.

The Editors of the following publications have generously given permission to reprint essays and reviews which first appeared in their pages: *Edinburgh University Journal*, *Italian Studies*, *Journal of Theological Studies*, *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, *New York Review of Books*, *Renaissance Quarterly*, *Revue internationale de philosophie*, *Times Literary Supplement*. Messrs Collier-Macmillan and the Manchester University Press have given similar permission to reprint essays from their publications.

The paintings on Plates 8b and 9c are reproduced by gracious permission of Her Majesty the Queen. Thanks are also due to the following for permission to illustrate objects in their ownership or charge: the Ashmolean Museum and the Bodleian Library, Oxford; Ordrupgaardsamlingen, Charlottenlund; Lord Sackville, Knole; the Trustees of the British Museum; the University of London; the City Art Gallery, Manchester; the Musée du Louvre and the Musée Rodin, Paris. In one case we have failed to trace the present owner of a work, and ask that this admission serve as an acknowledgment.

London, August 1982

J. N. Hillgarth
J. B. Trapp

PREFACE

THIS SECOND VOLUME of Dame Frances Yates's collected papers, on Italian subjects, contains, in roughly equal proportion, on the one hand, reviews of books, and, on the other, articles (mostly already published) and lectures (some printed here for the first time). The first item of the latter group, the original English version of a speech delivered at Pisa in Italian, provides a suitable introduction to the whole volume, for in it she briefly recounts her own scholarly biography, telling how she was led to her interest in Italian culture and to the personalities and themes that are dominant in her work: Giordano Bruno, Shakespeare, movements aiming at religious reconciliation, and, connected with these, dreams of world empire.

Many of the articles and lectures, and some of the reviews, are on these themes and several constitute addenda to her great books on Bruno and the history of mnemonics. But some of them break quite new ground; for example, the wonderful essay on the varying interpretations of the Ugolino episode in Dante's *Inferno*, and from this of the whole *Divine Comedy*. This article is also remarkable in that it is focussed on a much later period than the bulk of her work: the eighteenth and earlier nineteenth centuries. The masterly way in which she deals with dominant themes of this period – Romanticism, the worship of liberty and nature – makes one wish she could have ventured more often into this new territory, though another fine article that is also not attached to

PREFACE

any of her major books, that on Paolo Sarpi's *History of the Council of Trent*, takes us into the eighteenth century.

A characteristic common to both groups of papers is her constant preoccupation with pointing out new areas of research, demonstrating their historical importance and probable fruitfulness, and urging other scholars to explore them. The lecture on Italian academies, delivered at Oxford in 1949, is devoted entirely to this task. It is surprising and sad that this entirely justified call for research on a major cultural and social phenomenon in Italy from the fifteenth to the twentieth centuries is as necessary today as it was thirty-three years ago.

The reprinting of a large selection of her reviews needs, I think, no apology. The majority of these appeared in the *New York Review of Books*; and, owing to the enlightened policy of this journal which allows its contributors virtually unlimited space, they go far beyond the basic task of describing and judging the book under review, though of course they do this as well. These short scholarly essays provided the ideal framework for Dame Frances to exercise her gift for discovering and presenting new lines of research. In doing this, she was of course both too kindly, as well as too wise, to reproach the author for not having written a different and larger book than the one he chose to write. But, although she was eminently a generous and kindly critic, she was rightly firm, though still tactful, when she thought that an author had omitted an essential dimension of his subject. Her review, for example, of P. O. Kristeller's *Eight Philosophers of the Italian Renaissance*, ends by pointing out that this great scholar fails to make any mention of magic or hermeticism, and by arguing that these aspects of Renaissance thought must not be neglected if we wish to explain the genesis of seventeenth-century philosophy and science. But she begins her criticism by noting that Kristeller himself had done pioneering work on fifteenth-century hermeticism, and she backs up her argument by quoting a scholar of equal eminence in the field, Eugenio Garin.

I am very glad to have the honour of introducing some of the work of this fine scholar, who for so many happy years was my colleague and my friend.

Warburg Institute

D. P. Walker

SPEECH ON THE ACCEPTANCE
OF THE PREMIO GALILEO
GALILEI,* PISA

I DID NOT have an easy introduction to Italy and things Italian through early travel. And my early studies were not on Italian history and culture but on French history and culture. My early travels were to France; I did not see Italy until I was twenty-four, first entering the country by way of descent from the Alps. It was through my French studies that I came into the world of Italian culture. When working on a French theme, I found in the Public Record Office in London the manuscript of a testimonial written by the French ambassador in London, Michel de Mauvissière, for a certain Giovanni Florio, an Italian, then in his employment, the year being 1585. This hitherto unknown document which I had discovered excited me. One can never quite account for the process through which some particular area in the vast extent of history suddenly lights up in the mind and arouses a passionate desire to explore it further. I wanted passionately to know more about Giovanni Florio, about the French Embassy in London, and the people whom he might have met there. I began to work on this subject, entering into it alone, without any expert advice, solely by reading and reading everything that I could find and by looking

* The *Premio internazionale Galileo Galilei* has been awarded annually since 1962 by the *Rotary Italiani*, under the auspices of the University of Pisa, in recognition of an outstanding contribution by a scholar from outside Italy to the study of Italian civilisation in any of its aspects. Frances Yates delivered her speech of thanks in Italian, and it is reprinted in that language in *Studiosi stranieri della civiltà italiana. Testimonianze e discorsi dei vincitori del Premio internazionale Galileo Galilei dei Rotary Italiani*, ed. Tristano Bolelli, Pisa, 1981, pp. 133-47. Her original English version is printed here.

and looking in every source which suggested itself. Fortunately, I lived within easy reach of London, and could spend long days, months, and years working in what I still think is one of the best libraries in the world, the library of the British Museum, or the British Library, as it is now called.

I had lighted on a subject which led right into the heart of the Italian Renaissance as it affected England in the late sixteenth century. For the John Florio who was working at the French Embassy was the brilliant teacher from whom the Elizabethans learned Italian, either from personal instruction or from his fascinating text-books which teach the language through dialogues in Italian and English, in parallel columns. The dialogues treat, in an easy and attractive manner, of life in Elizabethan England and of the subjects which interested students of Italian in those days. To enter into the life and work of John Florio, to pore over his dialogues and over his great Italian-English dictionary, is to study at its roots the influence of Italian language and literature on Elizabethan England. Moreover, Florio represents one of the main channels through which Italian influence reached sixteenth-century England – namely through the Italian heretics, or Italian Protestant refugees. John Florio's father, Michelangelo Florio, was one of the Italian Protestants settled in Switzerland. And John Florio's language-teaching in England was permeated with Italian Protestant influences.

Among those who were also living at the French Embassy when Florio was there was no less a person than the famous Giordano Bruno, whose dialogues, written in Italian in London, give a wonderfully vivid picture of his life there, of how, one evening, he and Florio started out from the French Embassy to walk through the London streets, meeting with many difficulties and adventures on the way, to attend a supper party at the house of an English nobleman, at which a very famous dispute was held about the Copernican theory, and probably also about the supper in a religious sense, or as a sacrament. The presence of Giordano Bruno at the French Embassy led me into protracted and still unfinished studies of thought and religion in England under the impact of that most strange philosopher of the Italian Renaissance.

Finally, there was the French ambassador himself, Michel de Castelnau de Mauvissière, an exquisite and learned product of the French Renaissance, in touch with the French Academy of Poetry and Music, descendant of the learned academies of Italy, which inspired the French poets of that age, and their poetry and music.

Out of this quite particular and factual nucleus of the French Embassy in London and those present in it in the late sixteenth century have grown most of the labours of my life, almost entirely devoted to historical study, writing and teaching. I have written books about *The French Academies of the Sixteenth Century*, about *Giordano Bruno and the Hermetic Tradition*, about *The Art of Memory* and Bruno's strange development of it, about streets and houses as memory systems for storing thoughts, about the ideas behind the imagery used of Queen Elizabeth I (by Giordano Bruno, amongst others), about the impact of Renaissance themes on Shakespeare's theatre. The first beginnings of all this arose in my mind when preparing my first book: *John Florio: The Life of an Italian in Shakespeare's England* (1934).

Moreover, that first book had a major influence on the whole course of my life. It was through John Florio that I came to know the members of the Warburg Institute, then newly arrived in London with their wonderful library. Aby Warburg, who founded his institute and his library in Hamburg, arranged his books after the manner of a Renaissance library, reflecting through the subjects of the books, the place of man and his studies in the universe, a kind of continuation in Warburg's mind and library of the macrocosm-microcosm theme. Working within this library on some quite particular and detailed subject, all the resources of the library were brought to bear on it – history of religion, of science, of art, and so on. This was an absolutely new revelation to me, accustomed as I was to working within the English tradition of Renaissance studies, a tradition mainly literary or factually historical. In that library, I could start from the subjects which interested me and be led thence into some much vaster and deeper understanding of history, of the history of ideas and of images, which began gradually to dawn on me, though I did not understand it, and still do not understand it. There may still be some little time left in which to learn.

I saw the members of the Warburg Institute working in that library. I saw Fritz Saxl, then the director, darting from room to room and from shelf to shelf in pursuit of his material. Warburg had been particularly interested in Giordano Bruno. I was shown the Bruno section and began to learn how to expand from that into other sections. It is one of the principles of this library that enquiry into a specific subject leads, through the arrangement of the books, into other fields. Much of this is now a familiar tech-

nique, but in those days it was new, utterly new to me and intensely exciting.

Saxl offered me a position in the Institute, which I joyfully accepted. My duties were mainly – at first – to help with the editing of the *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* and to do my own research and writing. There was, and is, no ideological programme attached to the Institute except, I suppose, that one should be interested in history, cultural history as a whole, mainly, though not entirely, the cultural history of Europe in its descent from antiquity. And in that vast field the role of Italian culture and its history is, of course, all-important.

In those early days the editing of the *Journal* was no sinecure. It involved not only the reading of manuscripts offered, but the whole process of preparing for the press, proof-correcting, lay-out of plates, indices and so on. At first there was no secretarial help at all; it could not be afforded. I worked with Rudolf Wittkower on the task. Saxl believed in making people work hard on a specific task as well as allowing them full latitude and opportunity for their own research. We had to grind away, but not so hard as he ground himself, and the rewards were many, for example, Saxl himself running up, quick as light, with just the book or books which he knew one needed.

There was a large circle of Italian friends, contributors to the *Journal*, and other visitors in those early post-war years in which the renaissance in historical studies was gathering momentum. Articles by Italian scholars were frequently published in the *Journal* and I had the privilege of being in touch with the authors. The very first piece of work which I did for the Institute – and that was before the war and long before I joined the staff – was to translate into English, for publication in the *Journal*, Delio Cantimori's article on the *Orti Oricellari* ('Rhetoric and Politics in Italian Humanism', 1937). Volume IX of the *Journal*, for 1946, was entirely composed of articles by Italian scholars, amongst them Augusto Campana on 'The Origin of the Word "Humanist" '; Fausto Ghisalberti on 'Medieval Biographies of Ovid'; Alessandro Perosa on '*Febris*: a Poetic Myth'. The greater part of Volume XIV (1951) was composed of Giuseppe Billanovich's fundamental work on 'Petrarch and the Textual Tradition of Livy', and of an article on 'The Genesis of the Teatro Olimpico' by Licisco Magagnato. As well as many visits by celebrated Italian scholars, such as Eugenio Garin, to lecture, and visits by contributors to the *Journal* and Italian enquirers using the library, there

has also been what one may call a permanent circle, unofficially associated with the Institute, of 'Londinian' Italians – the late Roberto Weiss, Carlo Dionisotti, Giovanni Aquilecchia, Arnaldo Momigliano, and many others. In fact there has always been much contact with those whom Gertrud Bing used to call 'the friends', by whom she always meant the Italian friends, and there *has* been friendship between us all, a warm feeling of personal understanding and of being somehow – though very loosely – united in the world for common aims and for upholding certain values – values difficult to define but the presence of which is vital. Perhaps 'disinterested pursuit of learning without rancour or bias' might be one definition, an aim upheld by successive directors whom I have known, Fritz Saxl, Henri Frankfort, Ernst Gombrich, and now J. B. Trapp.

Thus, you see, though I have lived all these years in England, and in the same house, I am a citizen of the world through the Warburg Institute, and one who feels very much at home in Italy. To the best of my limited ability I have tried to work towards European understanding, and that must always mean working towards Italy. I have some serious gaps in my equipment for this task; my spoken Italian is poor, as you have discovered. This is because my Italianate culture has been so much a matter of books and reading and of Italian-English friends. I have spent as much time as I could in Italy, but I wish that it could have been more.

To me, your extraordinarily kind welcome today, and the presentation to me of the Premio Galileo Galilei with this beautiful and valuable statuette, comes as a marvellous crown to my whole life – a marvellous award and prize of which I feel myself profoundly unworthy, though I most deeply appreciate it. I am inexpressibly grateful for this most valuable and valued prize, and for the great kindness which admits me to the company of the holders of this most distinguished award. Above all I intensely value the fact that it is in Italy, and in the great and famous University of Pisa, that I am honoured with a prize which bears the most noble and deeply revered name of Galileo Galilei.

I will end, very simply, by saying from my heart 'Thank you'.

THE ITALIAN ACADEMIES*

WHAT IS AN academy? Let us think of a few familiar examples. The Royal Academy holds annual exhibitions of pictures and judges art by certain standards of its own. The British Academy awards distinctions to scholars for research in many branches of humane learning and organises lectures and publications. The Royal Society – the oldest of our true academies, though it does not use the word to describe itself – has been for centuries the centre and arbiter of scientific research. The Académie française, for which we have no exact English parallel, has been since its foundation by Cardinal Richelieu, devoted to the perfection of the French language and the judgment of literary works. There are in most European countries academies of dramatic art and of music. And in France – by what seems at first sight a curious use of the word – the State Opera is called officially Académie de musique – those words are written on the opera house in Paris – which seems to imply that the word academy has a peculiar relevance to opera, the art which combines drama and music.

The academy is thus not a school. Nor is it a university. It is an institution devoted to research, or to the perfection of some art. Moreover, it is a thoroughly European institution, to be found in every country in Europe, and of fundamental importance in the development of the European mind. Yet whilst the history of the

* A lecture, not previously published, delivered at the Summer School of the Society for Italian Studies at Magdalen College Oxford on 23 August 1949. Footnotes, some of them from Dame Frances's notes, have been added by the Editors.

university has been very thoroughly studied – one has only to think of Hastings Rashdall's great *Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*, first issued in 1895, and revised in three volumes in 1936 – the history of academism as a European institution still remains to be written. The university, as we all know, has its roots in the Middle Ages. The academy is a child of the Italian Renaissance. From the academies of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Italy there sprang the whole vast development of modern international academism – a movement which cannot be fully understood until we have a history of academism in Italy, the country of its origin, and that history does not exist. There are studies of individual Italian academies, such as Arnaldo Della Torre's book on the Platonic Academy of Florence (1902), but these are somewhat few and far between and in many cases out of date. Even the famous Della Crusca of Florence lacks a modern study which would make full use of the rich manuscript material. Michele Maylender's monumental work in five volumes – *Storia delle accademie d'Italia* (1926–30) – consists of short accounts of over two thousand Italian academies, ranging in date from the fifteenth to the nineteenth century and arranged in alphabetical order. Enormously valuable though it is as a tool for getting at this immense and most complicated subject, Maylender's book is not, and does not pretend to be, a coherent history of Italian academism. In the first chapter of his *Academies of Art, Past and Present* (1940) Nikolaus Pevsner makes a very useful attempt at sorting Maylender's material and fitting it into the history of academies in other countries, but the main subject of his book is the history of the academy of art, not of academies in general. We still await the study which will show us how those informal Renaissance academic groups whose marvellous intellectual vitality seems to embrace the whole range of human activity gave place to the more formal and specialised academies of sixteenth-century Italy, and how these in turn made way for the fantastic, yet fascinating, trifling which culminated in the Arcadian Academy. Why did the movement which had originated in Italy give rise when transferred to other countries to such portentous phenomena as Newton and the Royal Society in England or the state organisation of learning by Colbert in seventeenth-century France, but peter out in Italy itself in the comic opera atmosphere of the Arcadian shepherds? To answer this and the many other questions which press in on every side the moment one begins to attack this subject would require lifetimes of research. My sole aim in this

one hour's talk is to try to show you that we know nothing about the Italian academies. I shall punctuate it with cries of astonishment and vexation as at almost every turn we find ourselves faced with problems which have not only not been solved but very often have not even been raised.¹

The old story that the Renaissance arose through the coming to Italy of Greek scholars from Byzantium who brought with them texts of Plato and the Neoplatonists, taught Greek to the Italians, and so initiated the Revival of Learning, has been very much modified by many scholars who have emphasised the continuity of the Renaissance with the Middle Ages. Nevertheless, there is a good deal in the old story, and so far as the history of academies is concerned, the coming of the Greeks to Italy for the Council of Florence in 1439 seems to have been the decisive factor in the growth of academies in Italy. The Council was called, I need hardly remind you, to promote reunion between the Greek and Latin churches, and a strong delegation of Greek scholars came to Florence to debate with the theologians of the West. Prominent among them were Gemistus Pletho and Bessarion, both most ardent Platonists, and it was partly through their teaching and that of their fellow Greeks that the enthusiasm for learning Greek and studying Greek philosophy arose in Florence – an enthusiasm fully shared by Cosimo and Lorenzo de' Medici. The former encouraged Marsilio Ficino to translate the works of Plato and the Neoplatonists into Latin, and gave him a house at Careggi near Florence where he might pursue his studies in the quiet of the country. This house Ficino called an Academy, though one must not assume too much from this as he may have been using the term in the Ciceronian sense of a country villa. But in the preface of his translation of Plotinus, Ficino describes how it was the discourses of Gemistus Pletho on the Platonic mysteries, made at the time of the Council of Florence, which gave Cosimo de' Medici the idea of founding an Academy. Here he is certainly using the word in the sense of a philosophical circle, such as that of which Plato was the centre. Ficino's circle, which included, of course, the famous names of Pico della Mirandola and Poliziano, afterwards became known as the Platonic Academy of Florence.

Almost contemporaneously with the formation of the Florentine circle, another group of Greek scholars was forming in Rome under the leadership of Bessarion, who had now been rewarded with the cardinalate for his acceptance of Latin theological views on the nature of the Trinity. Out of these meetings was eventually

to grow the famous Roman Academy of Pomponio Leto. One of the earliest Italian historians of academies, Scipione Bargagli, attributes to Bessarion the chief credit for the introduction of the institution into Italy. It was Cardinal Bessarion, he says, who transported from Greece, the country of his origin, all honest arts and sciences, and together with them, like a piece of turf attached to the grass, those most pleasant and most perfect institutions (the academies). He then describes Bessarion's meetings in Rome, and the Florentine Academy, of which he says that in a brief space of time it restored all arts, sciences, and languages to their pristine purity under the leadership of those sovereign intellects Pico, Ficino, and Angelo Poliziano: 'Oh academies', cries Bargagli, seized with mystic enthusiasm, 'Oh academies, celestial and divine rather than terrestrial and mortal! Oh academies, prolific mothers of all the best arts and sciences, the only true refuge of polite letters! You encourage honest labour. You are haters of vice and lovers of virtue. . . . You alone can satisfy that naturally insatiable thirst for knowledge which every hour is growing stronger and stronger in the minds of men.'²

It is generally assumed that these first groups – dominated as they were by enthusiasm for the Platonic and Neoplatonic writings – were directly imitating Plato's example and trying to reproduce the atmosphere in which Plato and his disciples sought for truth by discussion among themselves in the groves of Academe. There is no doubt that Plato's Academy was regarded as the prime exemplar of all gatherings. 'As all fine tombs are called mausoleums', says Bargagli, 'after the one erected for Mausolus, so all famous schools of letters are called Academies after Plato's Academy.'³ Yet Bargagli's words, in which he describes the arts and sciences as grass transplanted from Greece to Italy with the nourishing turf of the academies still adhering to their roots, might be interpreted as meaning that some type of contemporary Byzantine academic institution had been transported to Italy by the Greeks together with their Greek scholarship and the Greek texts. Here, at the very root of our subject as it were, we meet with a blank. We simply do not know enough about the Byzantine influence on the formation of the Italian academies. We do not know enough about those figures of first-class importance in the genesis of the academic movement – Bessarion and Gemistus Pletho. Our urgent need is that a Greek scholar who is a specialist in late Byzantine history and also in fifteenth-century Italy should turn his attention to these problems.

The labours of the Renaissance academies were encyclopedic in scope. The notion of the departmental divisions of knowledge – of specialisation in the modern sense – had not yet arisen, and a genius like Pico della Mirandola took all knowledge for his province. Yet it might be true to say that whilst the Platonic Academy of Florence was primarily devoted to philosophy, the studies of the Roman Academy turned rather in the direction of classical erudition and archaeology. The same may perhaps be true of the Academy of Naples of which Giovanni Gioviano Pontano was the leading light. The great work of the Venetian Academy, formed by Aldus Manutius, was to make the treasures of Greek thought and literature available to the whole of Europe by printing the famous Aldine editions of the classics.⁴

All these four great Renaissance academies – in Florence, Rome, Naples, and Venice – are thus devoted in their several ways to the revival of classical learning. Yet for these early academicians, the academy is more than an instrument for the acquisition and propagation of learning. To it there clings an aura of mysticism, even of occultism. Platonism for Ficino is more than a philosophy; it is a way of perfection, of illumination. This attitude which underlies the early enthusiasm for the Platonic institution of the academy, persists, I believe, in however altered and enfeebled a form, throughout the history of academism in Italy even up to the end of the eighteenth century. It underlies activities of the most diverse types. The Platonic belief in number as the mystical clue to the universe inspires the scientific experiments of the mathematical academies, no less than the musical experiments of the musical academies. All academies profess, at least, to pursue virtue as well as knowledge or skill, and seek moral as well as intellectual perfection in the true Platonic spirit. Even the apparently frivolous passion of the later academies for the fabrication of devices or *imprese* is related to the outlook which requires everything in this world to be a reflection of ideas in the divine world.

Whilst, as we have seen, there are many unsolved problems in the first phase of Italian academism, its second phase is, in some ways, even more puzzling. From about the second quarter of the sixteenth century onwards large numbers of small academies begin to spring up all over Italy and all formed on more or less the same plan. They are governed by elaborate rules or statutes, in which regulations are laid down as to how the officers of the academy are to be chosen or elected, how often it is to meet, what subjects it is to discuss, and so on. They give themselves fantastic names

— such as the Inflamed Ones, the Elevated Ones, the Sleeping Ones, the Uncultivated Ones, the Hidden Ones, and so on — and to the name of the Academy is related its device or *impresa*, chosen with much care and curious learning. For example, the *Inflammati* of Padua chose as their device the body of Hercules being burned on the funeral pyre with the motto, *Arso il mortale, al ciel n'andra l'eterno*. This representation of the burning body of the hero corresponded to the name of the academy of the Inflamed Ones, and represented in symbolic form their heroic and burning desire to purge away their mortal dross by intellectual and moral efforts and fit themselves for eternal life. This was a fairly simple and obvious device and its meaning may be easily guessed. But some academic devices are most recondite, and unless detailed explanations are available would remain for ever wrapped in mystery. Who could imagine what the *Intronati* of Siena meant by taking as their device a mortar with two pestles suspended above it, and the motto *Meliora latent* — the better things are hidden? But fortunately they explained the riddle. It was a domestic custom in their part of the world to store salt in that useful kitchen utensil the mortar, in order to keep it dry and fresh. We are to understand that the mortar shown in the device has salt in it, though we cannot see the salt, for, as the motto explains, the better things are hidden. It was the intention of the academicians to express by this device that, though they might be in appearance rude and simple, like the humble mortar and pestle used by the cook for preparing food in the kitchen, yet they contained hidden within them the salt of true wisdom, and that they proposed by their continuous literary labours and virtuous resolution to refine and purify this native wisdom, just as rough lumps of salt are broken up and refined when they are crushed by pestles in a mortar.

Not only did each academy have its name and its device: each individual member of each academy had his special academic name and his device. These were to express his individual aspirations and intentions and their symbolism ought, theoretically, to be related to that of the academy to which he belonged, though this rule does not seem to have been always strictly adhered to. Sometimes the academic names seem highly unflattering — the Sleepy One, the Blind One, the Desiccated One. The explanation of such a name is, according to a sixteenth-century writer, that it related to some vice or weakness in the academician, and when he heard himself called by his academic name — say *Addormentato* or *Cieco* — it would remind him to wake up, or open his eyes; or if he was

unable to amend the failings to which the name alluded, the use of it would keep him in a proper state of humility.

It seems to have been a frequent custom to hang the device of the academy, and the particular devices of the academicians, in prominent positions in the hall in which the academy assembled – like votive tablets in a temple, as one writer puts it. These were to remind the members to fix their wills on the double aim of driving from the mind by intellectual pursuits the dark shadows of ignorance and replacing these by the clear light of learning and science; and at the same time of evicting from the soul the heaviness and brutality of vice and replacing it by the immortal beauty of virtue; and finally of replacing all their imperfections by perfection. The profound gravity with which the rules for forming a good *impresa* are discussed by sixteenth-century writers shows that these matters had for the men of those times a significance and an importance which it is hard for us to understand.

The names of a few of the earlier and more important academies of this type are as follows:- the Intronati, and the Rozzi of Siena; the Filarmonici of Verona; the Infiammati, the Elevati, and the Eterei of Padua; the Filareti of Ferrara; the Costanti and Olimpici of Vicenza; the Ardenti of Naples; the Affidati of Pavia; the Occulti of Brescia; the Innominati of Parma; the Umidi, the Alterati, and the Crusca of Florence. All more or less conform to the same type of organisation, with their fantastic names, their *imprese*, and their rules. They usually owe their foundation to some individual enthusiast, and often died with the death of their founder though some, like the Rozzi of Siena or the Crusca of Florence, live on through the centuries and become world-famous.

Now it seems that academies of this type are a new thing. So far as we know, the members of Ficino's Platonic Academy had no fixed rules, academic *imprese*, and academic names. The members of Pomponio Leto's Roman Academy gave themselves names, but these were of a classical type – Marcantonius, and the like – quite unlike the Infiammati and Desiosi of a later age. The dolphin and anchor on the title-pages of the Aldine editions of the classics might perhaps be regarded as a forerunner of the academic *impresa*, and we know that Aldus's academy had at least one rule, that the members must speak Greek at the meetings. But in spite of such adumbrations of later practices the four early academies are clearly distinguishable from their successors. What one would like to know is how and why the new type of academy arose, and it is extremely difficult to find an answer to that question. It is

not even easy to discover which was the first of the new type, because there are several candidates for that honour, but it seems to be the general opinion that the Intronati of Siena, founded in 1525, was the first regular academy of Italy, and even of the world – the first to call itself by a symbolical name, to elect officers, and to ordain for itself social laws.

In the Prologue to the *Capitoli* or rules of the Intronati of Siena, preserved in a manuscript dating from before 1584, the origin of the Academy is given as follows:

At a time when the armies of the barbarians, called in from the extreme parts of the west by the discord among our princes . . . had extinguished every thought save that of war and interrupted all literary exercises, certain gentle and learned persons of our city decided to found an association in which all annoying thoughts and worldly cares should be laid aside and the whole mind and will of the members should be concentrated on the study of letters, both in Greek and Latin and in the vulgar tongue, reading, disputing, interpreting, writing, and, in a word, doing everything that is possible to acquire learning. Nor was it only a school of philosophy, but of humanities, of law, of music, of poetry, of arithmetic, and of all the disciplines and all the liberal arts . . . everyone being free to express his views, to discuss all subjects, and to put forth *motti* and *imprese*. And from their firm intention of feigning not to understand and not to care for anything else in the world, it pleased them to take the name of Intronati, and that their association should be called the company of the Intronati.⁵

The usual definition of *intronare* is 'to stun' or 'to astound'. So these members of what is probably the first regular academy of Europe felt impelled to call themselves the Stunned Ones, feigning to be stunned by the din going on all around them and withdrawing from it to concentrate on the things of the mind.

This account of the origin of the Intronati reminds us of the historical events which divide this first of the new academies from its great predecessors. The years between the death of Lorenzo de' Medici in 1492 and the opening of the Academy of the Intronati in 1525 had seen the successive invasions of the Italian peninsula which broke up those brilliant worlds of the Renaissance courts and the Renaissance centres of learning and art and were

to end in the subjugation of the states of Italy by a foreign power. The year 1525 was the year of the Battle of Pavia which decided that Spain, not France, was to rule Italy. Two years later, in 1527, came the sack of Rome by the German and Spanish troops of the Emperor Charles V. The new type of academy begins after the political break-up of the world in which the Renaissance academies had flourished.

We note this as a fact, but it does not in itself explain why the new academies should have taken the form they did. The document from which I have just quoted is perhaps rather suggestive psychologically. Did one take a fantastic name and withdraw into a carefully regulated academy as a refuge from the confusion, later developing into foreign tyranny, in the world without? Perhaps so, but even that hardly explains the particular type of fantastic name, nor the passion for *imprese* which raged in the academies.

According to Paulus Jovius (Giovio), the fashion for *imprese* arose in Italy as a result of the foreign invasions. Jovius describes how the magnificently arrayed French knights in the armies of Charles VIII and Louis XII with their badges emblazoned on the front and back of their glittering surcoats, made an enormous impression on the Italian imagination, and says that all those who saw them began to imitate them by adorning themselves with pompous and beautiful *imprese*.⁶ This passage requires to be substantiated by further evidence, but if there is anything in it, is it not also possible that the academic name might also have a northern and chivalrous origin? The members of the Burgundian Order of the Toison d'Or seem sometimes to have taken names like Humble Requeste, Doulce Pensée, Leal Poursuite. Possibly the genesis of the Italian academic name owes something to traditions of that kind. But this is a pure hypothesis, and I hand the problem to you as yet another of those with which our way is strewn. So far as I can discover, no one has ever asked the question – What is the origin of the Italian academic name? Obviously, however, a northern and chivalrous influence on academic names and *imprese* need not derive from the invasions alone. The Provençal and French influence had long been a potent factor in Italian life; and one has only to think of the loving care with which Ariosto describes the badges of the English knights in the tenth canto of the *Orlando furioso* to realise how strong was their fascination. The interesting thing about the academic name and the *impresa* – if indeed these have a tincture of chivalry in their origin – would be their transfer in the academies to the intellectual world – knights

of the mind laying low the dragons of ignorance and error. And moreover there is certainly in the attitude to the *impresa* a very strong tincture of Neoplatonic mysticism – of that view of the universe as a hieroglyph of hidden divine mysteries, for which the nearest expression is symbolic expression.⁷

What did they do in these academies? You have heard from the description of the activities of the Intronati that their interests covered philosophy and literature in both the ancient and the modern tongues, and all arts and sciences. The early sixteenth-century academies keep something of the encyclopedic range of those of the fifteenth century. But the institutions of the new type tend gradually more and more to specialise – many, probably the great majority, are purely literary. Some are devoted to music, some to art, some to science, some to architecture, some to the drama. The Intronati themselves, not very long after their foundation, became enthusiasts for producing comedies on the classical model which they wrote and acted themselves. The influence of the academies on erudite drama is of course an immense subject, and one which can only be mentioned here. The Rozzi of Siena, another very early academy, influenced by the Intronati, was also a dramatic academy, specialising in comedies of a popular and non-classical type. The Filarmonici of Verona – also early, 1540, but with the full apparatus of rules and *imprese* – was, as its name implies, a musical academy.

In the literary academies of the new type, certain tendencies in their thought – apart from their organisation – mark them off as different from their fifteenth-century predecessors. They tend to concentrate on literature in the vulgar tongue, and on the perfection of the vulgar tongue, rather than on purely classical studies. They are more preoccupied with rhetoric than with philosophy. And they seek to draw up rules and formulae according to which new literary works are to be constructed and those already in existence are to be judged. These rules are, in the main, condensed out of the critical works of Aristotle, and this movement in the academic sphere is a parallel to the reaction against Platonist freedom and in favour of Aristotelian order which marks the Counter Reformation.

It is in the Paduan academies that the new kind of academism, with its emphasis on rules and judgment according to a fixed 'academic' standard (using the word 'academic' in the sense which it has acquired through this process, and which is very different from the mysterious enthusiasm which the notion of an academy

inspired in Ficino and his friends) seems to have been evolved. There were several academies in rapid succession in Padua – the *Inflammati*, the *Elevati*, the *Eterei*. Sperone Speroni, one of the great formulators of the Aristotelian ‘rules’, was a member of them all, and to the *Eterei*, Tasso and Giovanni Battista Guarini, author of the *Pastor fido*, submitted their works for judgment.

One of the most important tasks of the future historian of the Italian academies will be to point out the regional influences, always so significant in Italian history. The university of Padua had been famous in the Middle Ages and early Renaissance as a home of Aristotelianism, sometimes suspected of unorthodoxy. It is in the Paduan literary academies that the literary Aristotelianism develops in the sixteenth century and becomes appropriated by the Counter Reformation – a highly interesting development which requires further study. We want to know more of the processes by which the Padua of Pietro Pomponazzi became the workshop of such a movement.

If Padua was always Aristotelian, Florence was always Platonist. It was natural that Florence should have produced Ficino’s Platonic Academy and the subsequent history of academism in that town – though it reflects the changing spirit of the age throughout Italy – has features which make it stand out from other centres. Here more than anywhere one feels most strongly the need for further research on the later Florentine academies. In 1899, Mario Rossi pointed out that the Florentine archives and libraries contain extensive material on the *Accademia Fiorentina* and on the Academy of the *Alterati*, and that a new study of those institutions ought to be undertaken.⁸

The *Accademia Fiorentina* seems to have been begun some time after 1540. There is thus a considerable gap in time between the appearance of this academy and the disappearance of Ficino’s circle. The *Fiorentina* certainly carries on one of the earlier interests in its enthusiasm for Dante. Giovanni Battista Gelli’s expositions and commentaries on Dante were made in this Academy, and also Benedetto Varchi’s on Petrarch. It would seem that this academy follows the current of the age in concentrating on Italian literature, and the Italian tongue, but we can hardly be positive on this subject as we know so little about it nor about the state of Greek studies in Florence in the mid-sixteenth century. The *Fiorentina* is important for another reason. Through the strong encouragement given to it by the rulers of Florence it almost develops into a state academy – a phenomenon well-known in

other countries but otherwise unknown in Italy where until the nineteenth century academies were always private enterprises. In 1569, a full-fledged academy of the new type with which we are familiar – complete with symbolic names and *imprese* – begins in Florence, the Academy of the Alterati. It is said to have reflected the growing concentration on linguistics and the *volgare* of academism all over Italy at the time.

Amongst the many unpublished documents relating to the Alterati is a speech on *imprese* made in the Academy by Filippo Sassetti, which contains one of the best accounts known to me of the *impresa* in its relation to academies.⁹

What is an Academy, asks Sassetti; and replies it is an association of persons of good birth (*nobilis*) for the study of letters. How does a modern academy differ from an ancient one? Because all are equal in it, not subjected to a head or leader as were the academies of the Greeks. (A curious definition, but one which throws light on the importance attached to equal status among the members of an academy.) How is one to make an *impresa* for an academy? In order to answer this question he discusses some examples of academic *imprese*. The Ardenti of Naples take as theirs the Sacrifice of a Prophet, with fire from heaven falling on the sacrifice – signifying that the fire of wisdom derives from heaven alone. This, says Sassetti, is not a good *impresa* for it implies that the academicians need make no effort to acquire wisdom. They have only to let it fall from heaven on them. Next, he describes the mortar and pestles of the Intronati. This would be a very good *impresa* if it were a universal custom to keep salt in mortars. But though the Sienese may do so, other people keep all kinds of rubbish of no symbolic importance in their mortars. Though the idea of wisdom being something hidden, like salt in a mortar, is an excellent one, the *impresa* of the Intronati lacks a universal application and is therefore not perfect. The *impresa* of Sassetti's own Academy, the Alterati, is a wine vat. Now this is a good *impresa*, for though the contents of the wine vat are hidden, everyone knows what they must be. The meaning of the *impresa* is that the intellectual exercises of the academicians are like the fermentation of the grapes in the vat, through which perfect wine is produced. So, through the heating up of their wits they inebriate themselves into a state in which they will become perfect, or perform some perfect enterprise. From these and other examples he arrives at a definition of a good *impresa* for an academy. It should be material in appearance but have hidden within it a

meaning of great importance. There is a philosophic reason why the *impresa* should be a material object. Academicians are imperfect beings seeking perfection, like matter seeking its perfect form. Their *impresa* should therefore be of a material object which yet somehow implies the search for improvement or perfection.

These views on the nature of a good academic *impresa* are of interest since the *impresa* of the Alterati is said to have influenced that of what is probably the most famous of all Italian academies – perhaps the only one whose symbolic name is a matter of common knowledge – the Accademia della Crusca.

The *impresa* of the Accademia della Crusca was a sieve with the motto, *Il più bel fior ne coglie*. A sieve for sifting the flour from the bran, that is to say a material instrument through which something is purified and perfected – this would comply with Sassetti's precepts for a good academic *impresa*. Moreover the name of the Academy – Accademia della Crusca, the Academy of the Bran – implies that the academicians are imperfect, they are rough bran not yet sifted to form perfect flour – imperfect beings seeking their perfect or refined form.

The Accademia della Crusca began in an extremely light-hearted manner. Some friends decided to form a little society or club for their own amusement. Gradually the group grew in numbers and in importance and began to specialise on its life-work – the purification of the Tuscan tongue and the compilation of a dictionary of the language. The *Vocabolario della Crusca* is one of the first and probably the most famous of language dictionaries. It has gone through many editions and been the model for subsequent efforts of the same kind, including the *Dictionnaire de l'Académie française*, and Dr Johnson's dictionary of the English language. The Cruscans used their sieve for purifying language, sifting good words from bad, and they produced a perfect work and one which has lasted. In one of the editions, the capital letters introducing each letter of the alphabet are formed from the *imprese* of the academicians.

The spirit of comedy, almost of burlesque, in which the Academy began is reflected in the academic names of the early members. They all related to flour or grain. One called himself l'Infarinato – a name suggestive of the harlequinade. Another was the famous Lasca, whose daring burlesque dialogues created a great stir. How does the academic name Il Lasca relate to flour? Fortunately we are told the answer to this riddle. The fish *lasca*, or mullet, requires to be floured before being cooked. The early

Della Cruscans seem to wear comic masks beneath which may lurk unknown profundities.

One of their functions, like that of the Académie française after them, was to judge literary works submitted to them. These were kept in a receptacle which was called the sieve. Their fierce condemnation of Tasso's epic, which caused the sensitive poet so much anguish, seems to show them in rather a bad light. But there is little doubt that the quarrel over Tasso was an inter-academic quarrel, and that the Cruscans with their defence of Ariosto and condemnation of Tasso were in fact deploring the new rigid type of academism which was being generated in the Paduan academies. The implications of this controversy – in which by the way the Crusca appears in quite an opposite role to that of the Académie française in its condemnation of Corneille's *Le Cid* for not conforming to a strict type of academic classicism – have not yet been fully explored.

It is tempting to wonder whether currents from the past ran under the surface in the Crusca. Perhaps if one were to work backwards in time, so to speak, through the documentation relating to the later Florentine academies, one might be able to find definite traces of a survival in them of the traditions of the original Platonic Academy. Even the British Library can yield us some documents on the Crusca in the early eighteenth century, for one of the Lansdowne manuscripts contains an interesting little group of papers.¹⁰ The first is a copy of the account by Salvino Salvini of the founding of the Crusca. This account is known and has been printed from a copy in Florence of the manuscript.¹¹ The British Library copy seems to be unknown. Following it in the same volume is a discourse by Salvino Salvini delivered in the Crusca in 1709. It begins with a mention of Brunetto Latini and Dante – proof, if any were needed, that Dante was honoured in the Florentine academies at a time when the rest of Italy seemed to be neglecting him. Salvini then goes on to speak of those 'sublime spirits who flourished under the first Cosimo' – an allusion to the circle of Ficino which seems to suggest that the eighteenth-century Cruscans regarded themselves as belonging to that tradition.¹² (And this, by the way, is borne out by the printed sermon by Salvino Salvini delivered in the church of San Lorenzo in honour of Cosimo de' Medici in which he speaks of 'these academies which were born in this city in Cosimo's time'.)¹³ Salvini then speaks of the great reputation of the Cruscan academy throughout Europe, as is proved by the distinguished audience

which he is addressing which contained representatives from England. Following this document, there is a copy of a funeral oration on Count Lorenzo Magalotti – a deceased member of the Crusca – in which through recurrent word-play on the Count's academic name of *Il Sollevato*, this is related to his Platonic convictions. Thus we are told that his mind was inebriated by the loftiest Platonic speculations, and therefore even in small things he showed himself to be elevated (*sollevato*) and great. The orator mentions, among other things, Magalotti's correspondence with the English scientist Boyle. And following this there is a manuscript copy of the opening stanzas of Milton's *Paradise Lost*, translated into Italian by Magalotti.¹⁴ This little collection of documents was perhaps made by an Englishman, interested in the Crusca and its contacts with England. One wonders whether the collector may have had in view those projects for the founding of a language academy in England, on the lines of the Académie française and the Crusca – projects which were nourished even in the bosom of the great English scientific academy, the Royal Society (of which of course Boyle was a member). Thomas Sprat, the earliest historian of the Royal Society, suggests that the English scientific academy ought to be balanced by a language academy.¹⁵ But these projects, of course, never materialised and we have never had in England an academy for the regulation of the language.

The mention of the Royal Society brings one to scientific academies. In the world-view of Renaissance Neoplatonism in which the whole academic movement took its rise, religion, philosophy, ethics, and all the arts and sciences were interconnected in one harmonious whole. According to the Platonic account of creation (which the Neoplatonists harmonised with the Mosaic account, and so with the Judaeo-Christian tradition) as expounded in the *Timaeus*, the Creator divided the world soul, the stuff from which the universe is made, into harmonic intervals and then proceeded to create human souls of the same soul-stuff as the world soul. Harmony and number was thus the secret at the base of the material creation. It was also the secret of the human soul in which it was the function of all religious, intellectual, and moral training to re-establish the divine harmony which can be lost through the wrong use of free-will. Poetry, art, language, above all music, are all attempts in their several spheres to reproduce the ideal harmony – harmonious proportion in architecture, harmonious rhythm in prose, harmonious verse, harmonious living – the secret of them

all according to this world-view is number, in the recondite sense in which the Neoplatonists understood it.

This abstract emphasis on number was one of the influences which, in the sphere of natural philosophy, led to that emphasis on mathematics – to the statement and solution of scientific problems in terms of number – which was one of the contributory causes of the enormous seventeenth- and eighteenth-century advances in natural science.

What of the scientific academies of Italy? They existed in the sixteenth century, and in the early years of the seventeenth century – in 1603 – was founded in Rome the famous Accademia dei Lincei for the study of natural science. It is a proof that all the academies, whatever their subject, descended from the same root to find that this scientific academy follows the same pattern as the others which we have discussed – statutes, rules, symbolic name, *imprese*. The Academy of the Lynxes, or Lynx-Eyed Ones, took as their *impresa* the animal after which they were named – the lynx – gazing with its eyes up to heaven and beating down with its claws the infernal dog Cerberus. By this *impresa*, they meant that in the study of nature one must penetrate below the surface of the appearances of things as the lynx with its eyes sees through everything. By the lynx's upward look, they meant that from God alone comes all knowledge. By the attack on Cerberus they meant their aim of beating down vices and bad habits in themselves. Like all the others which we have studied, this *impresa* expresses the double aim of endeavouring to achieve both scientific and moral improvement. The first academicians all had academic names and their individual *imprese* related to astronomical phenomena – an eagle holding a celestial globe, the planet Saturn, the moon in eclipse – and so on. This academy had a world-famous member – Galileo Galilei.

From the first the Lincei met with difficulties, as they were viewed with suspicion in theological circles. In 1604 they were obliged to disperse. In 1609 they were re-established and their researches began to flourish exceedingly. In 1618 they were doing so well that the founder, Prince Federigo Cesi, seems to have entertained plans of vast extension, with an elaborate scheme for training young students and for the establishment of branches in the other Italian towns, in the main cities of Europe, and even in the New World. Then, in 1632, came the famous trial and condemnation of Galileo by the Holy Office, and the Academy of the Lincei, which was already in obscure difficulties, disappeared,

not to be revived again until the nineteenth century. Efforts were made to continue its work by new scientific academies, particularly the *Investiganti* of Naples and the *Cimento* of Florence (of which Magalotti was a very distinguished member), and later, in 1677, there was again a scientific academy in Rome. Men of scientific genius were certainly not lacking in Italy and they contributed a large share to the enormous intellectual advance of the age. But there can be little doubt that through the stifling of the *Lincei* by strong external discouragement, Italy was deprived of her great scientific academy and the leadership passed to those of England and France.

One of the reasons why the history of the European institution of the academy is important for us to study today is that it brings us face to face with the root problem of our age – the terrible dangers arising from the power placed in the hands of man through his proficiency in one branch of knowledge, applied science, whilst on other sides of his nature he has not made equal progress. The harmonious development of the whole encyclopedia of knowledge which the Renaissance envisaged – the perfecting not only of man's knowledge but of man himself which the quaint devices of the Italian academies proclaim again and again as their aim – has not materialised. It may be a not unimportant factor in the historical causes leading to the maladjustment of modern man that the clock of scientific academism was put back in Italy, and went on – perhaps too fast – elsewhere.

If the scientific academy led a chequered career in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Italy, the musical academy grew and prospered. The humanistic researches into the music of the ancients, and the fitting of words to music after what was believed to be the manner of the ancients, led eventually to the development of opera and oratorio, and this was largely furthered in the academies. The sixteenth-century circle of Count Giovanni Bardi in Florence in which the *rimessa melodrammatica* originated was an academy, and the ancestor of many others. The humanistic movement in music, which resulted in opera, can be traced back – like so much else – to the Florentine Neoplatonists. Plato laid tremendous emphasis on the importance of music in education, and his disciple Ficino was deeply interested in the problem of obtaining by music those effects on the emotions which are attributed to ancient music. I believe that the early experimenters in opera who try to obtain through music (musical 'numbers') powerful effects on the soul, are working on, as it were, parallel

lines to the early scientists who endeavour to gain experimental results from their knowledge of the workings of number in the natural world. Both movements – early science and early opera – relate to the Timaeian belief in the fundamental importance of number, and the great musical theorist of Bardi's circle – Vincentio Galilei – was the father of Galileo Galilei. I have sometimes wondered whether the enormous development of opera in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Italy was a kind of compensation for the obstruction of scientific development. Debarred from the dangerous practice of obtaining results from number in the scientific sphere, did they devote all their energies to the obtaining of emotional results from number in the musical sphere? This is a pure surmise – perhaps a wild surmise – but once again we urgently require more knowledge and more research into the scientific and musical academies.

The literary academies of the seventeenth century (outside Florence) fall into a state of considerable degeneracy. Greek scholarship decays and almost disappears, and the academies are the haunts of writers of light verse compounded of conventional Petrarchist conceits and the mannerisms of the Spanish school. Por-ing over a collection of academic *rime* of this period – such as those of the Selvaggi of Bologna of which there is a manuscript volume in the British Library (Addit. MS. 25596) one wonders what these totally unoriginal efforts on the return of one of the Selvaggi to his native town, on the death of another, on the tears of Mary Magdalene, on the procession of the Rosary – can have meant to those who wrote them. The truth probably is that such gatherings should more properly be regarded as social clubs than as in any sense learned institutions. The Selvaggi were simply a group of friends whose doings were very important to one another, though the literary historian dismisses their *rime* with not undeserved contempt. Innumerable little academies of this club type spring up all over Italy, some entirely devoted to games and pastimes. It is a curious phase in the history of the academy and one which ought to be related to the history of the club, and perhaps to the many clubs with strange names which are to be found in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century England. Giuseppe Baretti, who was familiar with the club atmosphere of Dr Johnson's England, gives as his last word on the contemporary Italian academies in his book on Italy written for English readers that 'They stand in the place of the clubs in England, which bring people together, and give them the means of becoming friends.'¹⁶

Strange parlour games were played in some of these club academies. For example, in the Apatisti of Florence they played in the early eighteenth century a game called *Sibilla* or *Sibillone*. One of those present was picked out in a purely haphazard fashion and asked to sit in the chair of office. Two academicians were seated one on each side of this chair. The person so unexpectedly called upon to act the part of the Sibyl was then asked a question to which he had to reply with one word – any word which came into his head. The two academicians would then give – extempore – elaborate etymological and philosophical interpretations of the sibylline word, proving with a flashy display of erudition that it was an answer to the question. A witness of one of these Brains Trusts describes how on one occasion the question was – ‘Why do women weep more often and more easily than men?’ The Sibyl replied to this question with the one word, *paglia*. Thereupon one of the academicians, a fat cleric of about forty, spoke in a loud and sonorous voice for some three quarters of an hour. He began with a long discussion of plant life, proved that *paglia* was a particularly tender plant of weak fibre and therefore not unlike women, then gave an exposition of human anatomy, explained the origin of tears in both sexes, showed that one sex has delicate fibres, and the other fibres of greater resistance, and ended with an elaborate and fulsome compliment to the ladies present.¹⁷

The last chapter in the history of Italian academism is the Arcadia. And by the last chapter I mean the last academic manifestation which is still in direct line of descent from the original traditions. After the great cleavage of the Napoleonic invasions which ended the old world, modern academies arise in nineteenth-century Italy – some still using the old names. But of the modern chapter in academic history we shall make no attempt to speak here.

We shall end then with the Arcadia. And what a fantastic end it is. The story, or perhaps legend, of the founding of the Arcadian Academy is as follows. One spring morning of the year 1690 a number of literati met in some meadows in the suburbs of Rome to discuss the decay of literature in Italy and the need for reviving a purer style of poetry. They read and improvised verses to one another, and applauded each other's efforts, and so stimulating was this meeting of poets in the spring fields that one of those present exclaimed, ‘It seems today as if Arcadia were reviving for us.’¹⁸ This wonderfully unhackneyed allusion was so inspiring that they decided to form an academy called the Arcadian Academy.

Its meetings were to be always in the open air and the members were to take pastoral names. Later the statutes of the new academy were drawn up, and translated into Latin by the learned Gian-Vincenzo Gravina, and the *impresa* chosen for it was the pipes of Pan surrounded by a wreath of laurel and of pine.

There was nothing really new about the Arcadian Academy. Its statutes were similar in tenor to those of many previous ones. The notion of dating events in the Academy by Olympiads had been used by the Olimpici of Vicenza. The pipes of Pan had been used as an *impresa* by more than one predecessor, including the Selvaggi of Bologna. True the academicians called themselves Pastore Alfesibeo Cario, or Pastore Opico Erimanteo – instead of Infiammato, Desioso, Sollevato and so on – yet this seems hardly a profound deviation from previous custom. But there seems to have been something about the Arcadia which ‘took on’. The idea of retreating into a pastoral dream world, of pretending to live the life depicted in Jacopo Sannazzaro’s poem, presented itself, no doubt, as a form of escapism from the veiled slavery into which Italy had fallen. And there was, at the beginning at least, a promise of freshness, of new inspiration, of a return to the golden age in literature and life which seemed to hold out attractive possibilities. Added to all this, the first Custode Generale of Arcadia, the Abate Giovanni Mario Crescimbeni, was a tireless organiser and propagandist, always busying himself to push the affairs of the Academy. And so Arcadia became the fashion, the rage. Everyone wanted to belong to it, and to take part in those reunions at which the *improvvisatori* gained such sensational successes.

It was Crescimbeni who introduced and encouraged the habit of improvisation (and he, too, is said to have been the one who brought to Rome the ‘inspired’ game of *sibillone*). A poet would be asked to improvise on a theme of which he had no knowledge beforehand, and would pour out floods of verse, working himself and his audience up into a pitch of terrific excitement. These performances seem to have been very impressive and to have left the speaker in a state of complete nervous exhaustion. There is no doubt that the idea behind such exhibitions was that of the divine inspiration of poets – so elaborately defined by Plato in his system of the *furores*. The most successful of the *improvvisatori* received the honour of a public coronation, such as had been awarded to Petrarch. Women also distinguished themselves as inspired poetesses in the Arcadia, and one of them, whose Arcadian name was Corilla Olimpica, was publicly crowned.¹⁹

In parenthesis it may be observed that the position of women in the Italian academies seems to be another of those unexplored avenues which are always opening out on every side as we pursue this subject. The Intronati admitted women as members in 1612, apparently rather an innovation since Traiano Boccalini took the trouble to make some ribald remarks when news of this reached Parnassus.²⁰ In the seventeenth century, that eccentric lady Queen Christina of Sweden was the founder of an academy in Rome and many of the original Arcadians came from her circle. Had this anything to do with the Arcadian encouragement of modern Sibyls? The coronation of Corilla Olimpica made a great stir and the lady's moral character was torn to shreds by bitter opponents of the Arcadian feminist policy. But powerful aid was at hand, and Corilla Olimpica, who is said to have squinted and whose inspired improvisations are gone with the wind, survives in the form of Corinne, the surpassingly beautiful and intelligent heroine of one of Madame de Staël's novels. You may remember that the coronation of Corinne is described in the book; her improvisation on the subject *La gloire et le bonheur de l'Italie* is given in full; and the impression made on the English, or rather Scottish, milord who witnesses these scenes shows how unusual he found them.

In the eighteenth century, Arcadia was a most flourishing institution. All the great belonged to it, and anyone with the slightest pretensions to literary or artistic culture. The painter Anton Rafael Mengs, the poets Vincenzo Monti and Vittorio Alfieri (the Arcadian name of the latter was Filaerio Eratrostico) – all were Arcadians. All distinguished visitors to Italy, too, were drawn into the net, all the milords on the Grand Tour – in fact Baretti suggests that the issue of Arcadian patents to English visitors to Rome was an important source of revenue to the Academy.²¹ Goethe was made a member, and what is thought to be the first use in German literature of the famous phrase *Et in Arcadia ego* was used by Goethe as a motto for the description of his journey to Italy.

The influence of the Academy spread throughout Italy through its colonies. There seems to have been a colony of Arcadia in nearly every Italian town of importance. Some of these were newly created but many were already existing academies which turned themselves into Arcadian colonies. These colonies all had their own devices, but it was a rule that the pipes of Pan of the parent institution must appear somewhere in the device of each colony. Arcadia, with its colonies, had more members than all the other

academies of Italy put together, and it seems to have aimed at a hegemony – the union of all Italian and even foreign organisations under the Arcadian sceptre. There were colonies, for example, in Portugal, and attempts were made in 1774 to found one in Paris.

The protector of Arcadia was the Pope. The reigning Pope was always known to the academicians as their Pastore Massimo, and his Arcadian name was solemnly registered. Their heavenly protector was the Infant Christ, probably referring to the first homage rendered by the shepherds, and to a spiritual as well as literary renovation which the pastoral golden age offered.

As an example of how the Arcadian influence sometimes worked one may mention the Academy of the Fisiocritici of Siena. This Academy was founded in 1690 by a certain Pirro Maria Gabrielli, with the aim of reviving scientific studies. In his inaugural speech, Gabrielli said: 'The minds of our countrymen are so lively that I do not know how we have been able to endure so long being chained to a rock like Prometheus, without following up the truths of philosophy.' He pleaded for a revival of the methods of Galileo, Evangelista Torricelli, and so many others 'who by reason and experiment, and with no other aim than showing the truth have made such flights in philosophy.'²² The Academy was not viewed with favour by the authorities who feared an anti-religious spirit in its scientific studies. In 1700 it was invited to become an Arcadian colony, and thenceforth pastoral inspiration began to take the place of scientific experiment.

The man who is famous for having exploded Arcadia is Giuseppe Baretti. Well-known in England as the author of an Italian-English dictionary and as the friend of Dr Johnson and Sir Joshua Reynolds, Baretti, on his return to Italy in 1763, began to publish a review on the model of the *Spectator* and the *Rambler*. In it he violently satirised the trifling, and, as he believed, mentally degrading habits of the eighteenth-century Italian academies. The paper began with a slashing review of Michele Giuseppe Morei's *History of Arcadia* (1761), which had just appeared. 'Those admirers of unprofitable knowledge', says Baretti, 'who not being able to spend their time to advantage, employ it in learning trifles, and are desirous of being informed of that most celebrated literary puerility called Arcadia, let them read this book. The author has written it with that feebleness of style, and that humble spirit of adulation, which principally characterises the Arcadians.'²³ This was mild compared to the language he afterwards used, and although his paper was soon discontinued, the reputation of Italian

academism as having ended as the enslaver and betrayer of the Italian mind, of having diverted it into frivolous and unprofitable pursuits, dates from Baretti.

The contempt for the later academies, and particularly for the Arcadia, was enhanced by the liberal movements of the nineteenth century, and they fell into complete oblivion. In her brilliant account of the Arcadian Academy, published in 1880, Vernon Lee describes with what difficulty she unearthed the traces of the Academy once so famous, and found the house, once the summer resort of Arcadian sonneteers, 'now abandoned to a family of market-gardeners, who hung their hats and jackets on the marble heads of improvisatori and crowned poetesses; and threw their beans, maize, and garden tools into corners of the desolate reception rooms, from whose mildewed walls looked down a host of celebrities.'²⁴

There is little doubt that it is owing to the survival of the attitude of contempt for the later academies that we have no history of Italian academism as a whole. The future historian, or historians, must despise nothing in that history – everything is in its time and place significant. There is no doubt that the Arcadia, for instance, is enormously important. Vernon Lee's remarkable evocation of that organised effort to lead a dream life must, one feels, be right in essence. But there exists an enormous documentation on the Arcadia, still only very partially explored, and which might help to answer some of the questions which rise in one's mind – questions, for example, about the theological significance of pastoral poetry in the Reformation and Counter Reformation, about the relationship between sentimental Arcadianism and Rousseau's return to 'nature'; about the relationship between the Arcadian *improvvisatori* – who represent a tail end of the tradition deriving from the Neoplatonic Academy of Florence with its emphasis on the divine furor of poets – and the rise of romanticism. One seems to sense some connection here in Madame de Staël's *Corinne*, where Oswald – wrapped in northern mists and romantic melancholy – comes in contact with the southern Sibyl, the inspired Corinne.

This brief sketch of an enormous subject has only touched a few salient points in the story. Nothing has been said about art academies, the development of which is slightly different, though they belong to the same context. Nothing about archaeology – and here it may be noted that Baretti couples his jeers at the Arcadian academies with contempt for archaeological academies

— and in the latter case his scorn was certainly unjustified. The history of the science of archaeology is only in its infancy, but when it comes to be written the tradition of archaeological studies in Italian academies — which descends from Pomponio Leto's Roman Academy — will certainly be one of the most important strands in it.

I have endeavoured in this brief account to suggest the unity underlying the history of the Italian academies — a unity implied, for instance, in the almost universal use of the academic *impresa*. But as I said at the beginning, my chief aim has been to show you that we know nothing about the Italian academies. I hope that I have also convinced you that we ought to know more.

TRANSFORMATIONS OF DANTE'S UGOLINO*

DANTE'S UGOLINO

IN THE FIRST round of the ninth and lowest circle of Hell, that of the traitors, Dante sees two spirits pent in the ice, one of whom is devouring the head of the other. He enquires what sins had earned the punishment of enduring and inflicting cannibalism throughout eternity. The eater lifts his head from the ghastly meal, wipes his lips on the victim's hair, and tells his story.¹

He was once Count Ugolino, a nobleman of Pisa, and his victim was the Archbishop Ruggieri. Through a treacherous ruse, he and his sons were taken prisoner by the Archbishop and shut up in a tower where the light of day reached them only through a small grating. One morning, at the hour when food was usually brought to them, he heard the door of the tower being locked and barred from the outside, and at that moment he knew what fate awaited himself and his sons. In the famous and harrowing lines which follow, the poet picks out significant episodes in the long-drawn-out agony; the moment when the father hears the barring of the door, does not cry out or weep, but the youngest child, seeing the look on his father's face, is seized with apprehension; the moment, on the following day, when the father bites his hands in anguish, and the children offer themselves to him for food. Between the fifth and sixth days the children die, but for three

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days more the father, now grown blind, gropes over their corpses until fasting gains the mastery of grief.

Thus having spoke,
Once more upon the wretched skull his teeth
He fasten'd like a mastiff's 'gainst the bone,
Firm and unyielding.

Truly a grim picture. Nor must one shirk the hint in the last line of Ugolino's story that when hunger overpowered his grief, he ate the dead bodies of his children.

For the historical Ugolino, one must turn to Villani's chronicles of Florence.² In the year 1288, Pisa was divided amongst three parties: two Guelph factions, headed by Nino de' Visconti and Ugolino de' Gherardeschi; and a Ghibelline party, led by the Archbishop Ruggieri. Ugolino allied himself with the Archbishop, betrayed his nephew Nino, and made himself master of Pisa for a while. But he was in turn betrayed by the Archbishop, who incited the citizens of Pisa against him. He was seized by the enraged Pisans and imprisoned in a tower, together with two of his sons and two grandchildren. The key of the tower was thrown into the Arno, and the five prisoners were left to die of hunger. The historical Ugolino was thus a treacherous tough, like his enemy the Archbishop. He deserved punishment; but it was a tyrannical injustice to destroy the four innocent children with him.

Dante carefully measures out the retributions of the two traitors. Both are suffering the torments of the damned in the traitors' hell; but Ugolino is given the right to oppress the Archbishop with a ghastly eternal punishment which fits his crime. And in telling his story he is allowed to excite our passionate sympathy and to arouse our hatred of his oppressor. For it is as a father that he suffers in the story, forgetting his own fate in his agony that he can do nothing for his helpless children. And that was a suffering which ought not to have been inflicted upon him, an injustice which earns the maledictions of the poet against Pisa.

ENGLISH TRANSLATIONS OF THE UGOLINO EPISODE

In following the history of Dante's influence in England, the raw material for which has been so admirably assembled by Paget

Toynbee,³ one cannot fail to notice the remarkable popularity of the Ugolino episode with translators. This begins as early as Chaucer who gives in the *Monk's Tale* a free rendering of the story, in which are already discernible tendencies which will be accentuated in Ugolino's later career.⁴ But Chaucer's Ugolino is too isolated, and too remote in time from the theme of this article, for discussion here. After Chaucer there is a gap of more than three hundred years before the Ugolino episode is again translated by an English hand; and it is with that version that we begin.

In 1719, Jonathan Richardson, the artist and art-theorist, gave in his *Discourse on the Science of a Connoisseur* a verse translation of the thirty-third canto of the *Inferno*.⁵ In the passage in which his translation from Dante occurs, Richardson is expounding the Mannerist theory of the unity of the arts. As an illustration of it, he gives an example of the same theme as treated by a poet, a sculptor, and an imaginary painter; and the example which he chooses is the Ugolino story.⁶ He begins by relating the plain history out of Villani. Then he gives his translation from Dante to show how a great poet 'carried the story further than the historian could do by narrating what passed in the prison'. Next comes the treatment by a sculptor, and he proceeds to describe a bas-relief group of Ugolino and his sons which he attributes to Michelangelo. Finally, he calls for a great painter to treat the theme, and gives suggestions as to how such a picture should be composed.

As is well known, Richardson's treatises may almost be said to have inaugurated the revival of the arts in eighteenth-century England. They are equally important as marking the eighteenth-century revival of Dante. Following Richardson, there was a spate of further translations of the Ugolino story; and it was Richardson's call for an artist to treat the theme in painting which inspired Reynolds's famous picture. There is thus from the outset a close association between Ugolino's careers in literature and in art; but owing to the complexity of the subject, it will be convenient to treat these separately at first.

After Richardson, the next translator of Ugolino's woes was the poet Gray, who, probably about 1737 in his Cambridge days, made a blank verse rendering which was first printed in Edmund Gosse's edition of Gray's works in 1885.⁷

Omitting the prose translations in Giuseppe Baretti's essay on Italian poetry (1753)⁸ and in Joseph Warton's essay on Pope (1756),⁹ the next poet to attempt a translation was Frederick

Howard, fourth Earl of Carlisle, who published a slim volume of verse in 1772, one of the pieces being his new translation of Ugolino.¹⁰ The volume went through several editions in the following years and its popularity was certainly associated with the impression created by Sir Joshua Reynolds's picture of *Ugolino and his Sons in the Hunger Tower* which was first exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1773.

A third prose version of this, as Paget Toynbee says, 'now hackneyed episode', appeared in 1781 in Thomas Warton's *History of English Poetry*.¹¹

The next year, 1782, saw the beginnings of complete English translations of Dante's poem. The first complete *Inferno* was done by Charles Rogers in 1782. Boyd's *Inferno* came out in 1785, and his version of the whole of the *Divine Comedy* in 1802. Carey's *Inferno* was published in 1805, and his complete translation in 1814.

The object in marshalling all these dates is to demonstrate the curious fact that before any complete translation of Dante exists in English there are already three verse and three prose renderings of the Ugolino episode, and a picture of the subject by one of the greatest of English artists. Dante seems to make his entry into eighteenth-century England in the form of Ugolino.

Nor did this passion for the persecuted Count die down with the passage of time. For many years after the appearance of full translations of the *Divine Comedy* it remained fashionable to go on trying one's hand at new presentations of Ugolino. There was a verse translation in 1794 by Henry Jennings;¹² another in 1804 by Richard Wharton;¹³ another in 1814 by Robert Morehead;¹⁴ in 1823 a prose version by Thomas Roscoe;¹⁵ about 1821, Medwin and Shelley are working on a verse translation;¹⁶ and in 1837 Gladstone weighs in with an entirely new English version in rhyming couplets.¹⁷ Gladstone makes an impressive finale to this list, and in order to avoid tedium and prolixity we will end it with him, though he is not really the end. Toynbee reckoned that there were twenty-seven translations of the Ugolino passage into English, the last which he had noted being in 1899,¹⁸ and the list could certainly be lengthened.

THE PATHETIC UGOLINO

This amazing partiality for Ugolino is a phenomenon which seems to demand some explanation. Of course, one must not forget the obvious answer that the passage is very striking and never fails to make an unforgettable impression on every reader. No doubt it was largely as a rhetorical exercise that the translators strove to imitate lines of such poignancy and power. But should we to-day single them out again and again as the epitome of everything which most appeals to us in Dante? Surely not. What, then, was the secret of their overwhelming fascination for the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries?

The first answer, I think, is 'pathos'. The Ugolino story has been constantly paired with the story of Paolo and Francesca as the two passages which excel in their power to arouse deep emotion. These are the points at which human love and human sorrow break through, even in hell, and all the more moving in the infernal setting. The eighteenth century highly valued – in literature, art, and music – the power of painting the passions and of arousing answering emotions in the reader, beholder, or hearer. Moreover, Englishmen of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries – partly from Protestant bias, with its ensuing ignorance of medieval theology and philosophy – were unable to appreciate the *Divine Comedy* as the marvellously complete intellectual structure, with its elaborate interlocking allegorical patterns, which appeals so much to the modern student of the poem. To readers of those times it seemed a tissue of absurdities, redeemed here and there by individual passages of great sublimity and moving pathos, of which the most memorable were the stories of Paolo and Francesca, and of Ugolino. William Hayley, for example, speaks of how Dante's strong numbers have power to

rend the heart at Ugolino's woe

or inspire a milder grief when

Pathetic tenderness attunes his lyre,
Which, soft as the murmurs of the plaintive dove,
Tells the sad issue of illicit love.

The wonderful success of these two scenes is, for Hayley, all the more surprising in view of the deplorable fact that not infrequently

Priestly Dullness the lost Bard enshrouds
In cold confusion and scholastic clouds.¹⁹

Martin Sherlock is viewing the *Divine Comedy* from a similar standpoint when he appraises it as 'a mass of various kinds of knowledge gothickly heaped together, without order and without design', but redeemed by a few grand passages of which the chief are 'the narration of Count Ugolino' and the 'history of Francesca da Rimini'.²⁰ Miss Anna Seward, the Swan of Lichfield, writing to Henry Carey a letter, which must have depressed him considerably, on his translation of the *Inferno*, remarks that she finds little poetry in the work good enough to mitigate its 'ridiculous infelicity of plot'; but she likes best the cantos which contain the Ugolino story, because she finds their pictures 'less disgustingly shocking, and more within the powers of our conception'.²¹ One would have thought that the Ugolino story is not without shocking – and even disgusting – elements. But Miss Seward's robust eighteenth-century sensibility can stand any amount of piled-up horrors in a good human story. What she cannot stand is 'the veil of inflated and dense obscurity which envelops the meaning of this fire and smoke poet'.

The tradition of pairing Francesca and Ugolino as the two high-lights in Dante runs on into the nineteenth century. Coleridge,²² Byron,²³ Tennyson,²⁴ Carlyle,²⁵ all repeat the same judgment. And Macaulay – whose bold ignorance compels a certain grudging admiration – actually reproaches the early commentators and disciples of Dante for their failure to understand his true merits. 'They extolled their great poet for his smattering of ancient literature and history; for his logic and divinity; for his absurd physics, and his more absurd metaphysics; for everything but that in which he pre-eminently excelled. . . . The finest passages were little valued until they had been debased into some monstrous allegory. Louder applause was given to the lecture on fate and free-will, or to the ridiculous astronomical theories, than to those tremendous lines which disclose the secrets of the tower of hunger, or to that half-told tale of guilty love, so passionate and so full of tears.'²⁶

Through this type of approach to the *Divine Comedy* the grand passages become detached from the great scheme of salvation which is the theme of the poem, and formed into separate pictures, complete in themselves. The 'consummately pathetic narrative of Hugolino' and the 'little novel of Francesca', as Jennings calls

them, lose their carefully graded places in the assessment of moral and spiritual failure. They are now merely moving tales, the one of 'guilty' love; the other of a father's woe. By various touches here and there, the translators of the Ugolino episode cause us to forget that the Count is himself a sinner. We are to grieve emotionally with him as the unhappy father that he was in life, rather than weigh his spiritual situation after death. Read in this way, the Ugolino story becomes, to our taste, overcharged with melodrama. The incident of the children offering themselves to be eaten by their father is, for instance, shockingly impossible (whatever Miss Seward may say) if the story is to be understood literally. But when articulated into its setting in the *Inferno*, the cannibalism theme – which the offer of the children underlines – can be mitigated as an allegory of men preying upon one another in an unjust society; whilst the punishment of injustice is to prey, and to be preyed upon, eternally. Yet to eighteenth-century taste, the children's offer seemed a master-stroke of pathos, as is shown by an entry in John Wesley's journal, where he agonises over 'the little boy, that when he saw his father gnawing his own arm for anguish, cried out, "Papa, if you are hungry, do not eat your own arm, but mine."'²⁷

In an age which so much admired and revelled in the pathetic, it is comprehensible that Ugolino should stand out. But is its pathos enough to account for the quite fantastic importance which seems to have been attached to the episode? If that were all, the Francesca story – so much the more attractive – ought to have outstripped it. Yet Ugolino beats Francesca numerically (twenty-two separate translations of Francesca as compared with twenty-seven, or more, of Ugolino – no other passage in Dante is in the running beside these two for popularity in separate translations) and also he has a long start of her. Francesca is not separately translated until 1785, that is to say, after the full translations of the *Divine Comedy* have begun, by which time there were already at least seven versions of Ugolino, not to mention the Reynolds picture.²⁸ Thus the first answer which we gave to account for the Ugolino phenomenon, though partially true, is not sufficient.

THE POLITICAL UGOLINO

If one works carefully through the early translations it becomes apparent that, for the translators, the story is not only a pathetic story of a father's sorrow but also a story of injustice, and, moreover – and this is the point – of injustice wrought by a churchman. We are not allowed to forget that Ugolino's persecutor was an archbishop. The trend is even visible in Chaucer's version, but with that we do not concern ourselves. Richardson speaks of the 'treacherous and cruel enemy', and makes Ugolino cry 'how Just is my revenge'. Gray's version yields the fine phrase, 'Pisa's perfidious Prelate.' For the Earl of Carlisle, the Archbishop is a 'haughty Prelate', and 'cruel Rugeiro'; Richard Wharton emphasises the rank of Ugolino: 'The Earl and Ugolino was my name'; and his opponent is 'this wretch, Ruggieri', 'this priest'. A similar nuance is discernible, not only in the translations of the tale, but in scattered allusions to it. For example, John Breval, a tutor accompanying a young nobleman on the Grand Tour, remarked in 1726 on seeing the building which used to be pointed out as the Hunger Tower in Pisa, that, 'History scarce affords a severer instance of Prelatical Revenge, than a whole Family immur'd in a Dungeon, and the Keys of it thrown into the River, to cut off all Possibility of Relief.'²⁹

It would not occur to us to read Ugolino's sufferings as an anti-clerical indictment; and there is no evidence that such an interpretation was intended by Dante. We have already discussed how carefully the poet weighs the two sinners in the scales; though he allows our sympathy with one of them to develop into a hatred of injustice. In the attitude to Ugolino of the English eighteenth century we are perhaps witnessing something of that wrenching of Dante's meanings to subserve a politico-theological position which is apparent in the use of isolated quotations from his works for Protestant propaganda in the sixteenth century. Elizabethan theologians had twisted Dante's censures on the corruptions of the Church, and his appeals to the imperial, or secular, power to reform the Church, into a justification for the English Protestant monarchical Reformation,³⁰ which involved in England the destruction of a system which Dante had desired to reform, but certainly not to abolish. In a somewhat similar manner, the eighteenth-century admirers of Ugolino dwell, not merely on Dante's punishment of the unjust Ruggiero, but on the punishment of the unjust *prelate*, Ruggiero, twisting his condemnation

of injustice in an individual soul into condemnation of a system which they regarded as the negation of Liberty. To the earlier Protestant theologians, the favourite passage in Dante's Italian works, quoted in isolation from its context in the poem as a whole, was the thirty-second canto of the *Purgatorio*, with its vision of the Whore of Babylon which they interpreted to suit their own antipapal views. The eighteenth century prefers the thirty-third canto of the *Inferno*, with its vision (as they see it) of a man of rank deprived of his liberty and his rights by an oppressive churchman. Dante, the Protestant, has developed into Dante, the Whig.

Indeed it is probable that the eighteenth-century Ugolino-Dante develops directly out of the traditions of the sixteenth-century Protestant Dante. The first Ugolinos appear at a time when there is, as yet, no full English translation of the *Divine Comedy*, and no Dante scholarship, in any modern sense of the term. The last great English writer to have been deeply influenced by him was Milton, and Milton's Dante had been, to a considerable extent, still the Protestant Dante of the sixteenth-century theologians. With the Stuart Restoration and the rise of French influence in England, Dante fell into a disfavour which reflected his eclipse on the continent in the seventeenth century – an eclipse which was largely due to the suspicion aroused in Catholic circles by the Protestant appropriation of him as a forerunner of the Reformation.³¹ But by 1719, when the first of the Ugolino translations, that by Richardson, appears, England is in the first flush of the long Whig supremacy. The 'anti-Prelatical' Whigs glorified the Protestant Revolution of 1688 as the foundation of their liberties, and they looked back with deep respect to Milton as an earlier architect and prophet of liberty. It is significant that Richardson, who starts Ugolino off on his course, was a most devoted admirer of Milton, and knew of Dante's influence on Milton.³²

Ugolino is thus, I would suggest, for the eighteenth century, not only the father over whose sorrows one must weep. He is also the Count, the man of rank oppressed by a priest. He has stepped right out of the *Divine Comedy* and become an emotional and liberty-loving English lord.

This development becomes even more pronounced in what one may call Ugolino's Byronic phase. Byron cannot be numbered amongst the translators of the Count's story, but one of his most famous poems seems to have been inspired by it. Shelley says that 'Byron had deeply studied this death of Ugolino, and perhaps but

for it would never have written *The Prisoner of Chillon*.³³ The Prisoner of Chillon, chained for many years in a dungeon of the castle on Lake Geneva, watched – not his children, like Ugolino – but his brothers die one by one beside him. He can no longer reckon the years of his imprisonment for

I lost their long and heavy score
When my last brother drooped and died
And I lay living by his side.

The poem paints the long agony of that imprisonment, and its effect on the prisoner:

My limbs are bowed, though not with toil,
But rusted with a vile repose

– in words which had a tremendous emotional appeal for many generations of Europeans. In this tale of prisoners languishing for years in confinement for their religious or political opinions, each heart-rending touch is heavily underlined. When Ugolino is transformed into the Prisoner of Chillon he finally loses every link with the scheme of Dante's poem, and his sufferings as so pathetically recounted by the noble and liberal poet become an exemplar of injustice and a clarion-call for Liberty.

Ugolino loomed large in the Risorgimento judging by the amount of verse, plays, and pictures on the theme which appeared in Italy during the nineteenth century.³⁴ As is well known, the revival of Dante as the 'poet of Liberty' played an important part in the whole movement, and the passion for Ugolino would thus fall into place as an element in that revival. Nevertheless his prominence in Italy, as in England, during the period might suggest that he forms a bond between the aspirations of Risorgimento Italy and the cult of liberty in Whig England, in the transmission of which to the continent Lord Byron was perhaps more influential than any other individual.

During the first half of the nineteenth century, and even later, what one might almost call an Ugolino fever spread to France, Belgium, Denmark, Switzerland, and other countries. Verse translations of the story, plays on it, poems inspired by it, appear in various European languages.³⁵ These literary manifestations are accompanied by an outbreak of pictures of Ugolino-sufferings in Ugolino-dungeons. Most of this production is of a low and

ephemeral quality and it would be tedious in the extreme to examine it in detail; but its volume and its ubiquity testify to the strong emotional charge which Ugolino was continuing to transmit. Roughly speaking, it may be said that the European Ugolino craze coincides with the trend of that epoch towards liberalism. The steady stream of nineteenth-century English translations of the Ugolino episode becomes more intelligible when we realise that the Count represented the sufferings of the enslaved under tyrants, with which liberal England must deeply sympathise.

But a new and disturbing twist is given to the political and social application of the Ugolino symbol by Carlyle. After all, shocking things were happening in free England, and Carlyle claims a ghastly incident of the Hungry Forties as a modern Ugolino story. At Stockport Assizes, a mother and father were found guilty of poisoning their three children in order to get money from a burial society to buy food. 'A human Mother and Father had said to themselves, What shall we do to escape starvation? We are deep sunk here, in our dark cellar, and help is far. Yes, in the Ugolino Hunger Tower stern things happen; best loved little Gaddo fallen dead on his Father's knees.'³⁶ These were parents forced by social injustice to the crime of eating their children, and Carlyle was right in seeing the parallel with the famous Dantean story.

Ruskin somewhat satirically sums up the whole position: 'The only bit of Dante that English people have ever read, or have heard of (after their favourite piece of the adultery of Francesca) is . . . the starving of Count Ugolino. . . . They are content to enjoy the description of his starvation, when they might see any number of Ugolinos, not counts, starved to death in their own villages. Also, they never inquire what the Count had done to deserve starving; nor what sort of feasting he had in hell after he was starved.'³⁷ This biting survey makes fun of the divorce of the admired pathetic passages from their place in the scheme of the poem; of the snobbish exaltation of the persecuted foreign count whose sufferings are to be 'enjoyed' whilst eyes are averted from less romantic agonies nearer at hand. Though perhaps rather too cruel, there is probably some truth in this assessment of the Victorian Ugolino.

The Ruskin passage shows that the Count is beginning to be found out. With the growth of Dante scholarship during the later nineteenth century, the structure of the *Divine Comedy* as a whole begins to be better understood, and the dashing independent career

of the escaped convict from the traitors' hell comes gradually to an end.

THE ROMANTIC UGOLINO

Apart from a rather hasty excursion abroad in the wake of Byron and liberalism, we have hitherto confined ourselves to tracing the history of Ugolino in England; but that history obviously cannot be fully understood without reference to the wider context of the general European flow of ideas known as the Romantic Movement. The freeing of the individual through giving full rein to the emotions, and through political liberty, are facets of that spirit of romanticism which in the literary sphere sought to dethrone the so-called tyranny imposed on the imagination by classical rules, and to substitute for classical literature of the type which reached its climax during the seventeenth century in France, a romantic literature unfettered by rules and glorying in themes of unbounded pathos and passion. In what is sometimes known as pre-Romanticism – the eighteenth-century trend of ideas which paved the way for Romanticism proper – we find that the Ugolino-Dante (that is the Dante admired above all for his powerful pathetic passages) goes hand in hand with Shakespeare and Milton as a model to follow in the effort to break the tyranny of strict classicism which had dominated European literature for so long.

The first great effort to emancipate German literature from the shackles of French classicism was made by the Swiss critics, Bodmer and Breitinger, whose campaign against classicism had a great influence in Germany and led to the emergence of the 'Sturm und Drang' movement.³⁸ Bodmer is said to have been the first in German-speaking lands to point out the importance of Dante as a poet.³⁹ He had hitherto been admired in Germany, as in Elizabethan England, as an imperialist theologian and a supposed forerunner of the Reformation. As an example of Dante's poetic power, Bodmer gave, in a critical work published in 1741, a translation into German prose of the Ugolino passage.⁴⁰

It is clear, I think, that in his treatment of Ugolino in this book Bodmer is following Richardson, whose discourses were widely read on the continent in a French translation. (Not that Bodmer would have been unable to read them in English, for he was an enthusiastic admirer of English literature, and the translator of Milton into German.) Like Richardson, he is comparing the arts

of painting, poetry, and sculpture. Like Richardson, he discusses the treatment of the same theme by a poet and a sculptor – the Ugolino theme as presented in poetry by Dante, and in sculpture in a bas-relief which he attributes to Michelangelo. Since Bodmer places his translation of the Ugolino passage in the context of a discussion so exactly similar to that in which Richardson introduces his, one is led to think that it may have been partly through Richardson's influence that Ugolino took up such an important place in Bodmer's circle.⁴¹

Bodmer was the author of a play on the theme of Ugolino,⁴² and it is thought that he may have encouraged Gerstenberg to write his well-known tragedy.⁴³ H. von Gerstenberg's *Ugolino*, in which the agonies of starvation are stressed through five acts, though not in itself an important work, is significant in the history of the German theatre as marking the transition to romantic drama, freed from the bonds of French classicism. The play was widely imitated in Europe.

The author of a modern book on Gerstenberg makes the remark that Gerstenberg's *Ugolino* is the first example of *Shakespearean* drama in Germany, regarding the play as initiating the struggle between classical rigidity and Shakespearean 'fulness'.⁴⁴ The assumption that Ugolino is a species of Shakespearean character can also be found in eighteenth-century English criticism. Lamb argued all one evening with a visitor over a comparison between Ugolino and Lear, taking his stand on Lear, and urging 'the supremacy of the child-changed father against all the possible Ugolinos in the world'.⁴⁵ But the strangest application of this idea is to be found in France, where Ducis, the first translator, or rather adapter, of Shakespeare into French, actually introduced the Ugolino story into *Romeo and Juliet* by making old Montague and his sons endure the same sufferings as Dante's hero.⁴⁶

Regarded, therefore, from the point of view of literary history, we find the eighteenth-century Ugolino in his usual role of the hero of a drama complete in itself, and quite distinct from the *Divine Comedy* as a whole. And moreover that drama is a romantic drama, in which all the fettering rules of French *convenance* are discarded and we are brought face to face with mounting horrors, our feelings harrowed by the stark realities of 'nature'. Once again the Count plays an anti-tyrannical part, this time against the literary, rather than political, tyranny of the classical rules.

One other point in the career of Ugolino in Germany deserves

attention, namely that he is mentioned in Lessing's *Laocoon* in connection with a discussion on the presentation of the 'disgusting' in poetry and painting respectively. Dante, says Lessing, prepares us for the horrors of starvation by the 'disgusting' episode in which the sons offer themselves to their father for food.⁴⁷ Though a poet, he continues, may heighten the impression of the terrible by introducing the 'disgusting', the artist will do so at his peril, for it has a stronger effect in a representation addressed to the eye than in one addressed to the ear. Though his discussion turns on a different theme, and breaks with the tradition of identifying the methods of poetry with those of the visual arts, Lessing might be regarded as following in the steps of Richardson and Bodmer in taking Ugolino as an example for a comparison between those arts. And the very appearance of Ugolino in Lessing's work reminds one that there is indeed a certain parallelism between the story of Laocoon and his sons, overwhelmed by a terrible fate, and the story of Ugolino and his sons. The problems solved by the sculptor of the Laocoon group, and analysed by Lessing, would also present themselves to any artist who should attempt to portray the sufferings in the Hunger Tower.

UGOLINO IN ART: RICHARDSON AND REYNOLDS

We have seen the importance of Richardson's translation of the Ugolino episode for the subsequent career in literature of our hero. The *Science of a Connoisseur* is even more vital for his career in art; therefore to that work we once more return.

After his examples of the treatment of the Ugolino theme by the historian, Villani, and the poet, Dante, Richardson proceeds to describe a representation of the subject in sculpture:

The historian and the poet having done their parts, comes Michelangelo Buonarotti, and goes on in a bas-relief which I have seen in the hands of Mr Trench, a modest ingenious painter, lately arrived from his long studies in Italy. He shews us the Count sitting with his four sons, one dead at his feet, over their heads is a figure representing Famine, and underneath is another to denote the river Arno, on whose banks this tragedy was acted. Michelangelo was the fittest man that ever lived to cut or paint this story; if I had wished to see it represented in sculpture or painting, I should have

fixed upon this hand; he was a Dante in his way, and he read him perpetually.⁴⁸

The work which Richardson here describes is not by Michelangelo. His description of it coincides with that given by Vasari of a bas-relief by Pierino da Vinci,⁴⁹ the nephew of Leonardo, and the contemporary and pupil of Michelangelo. Vasari says that the relief was cast in bronze. No such bronze is known to exist but there are four copies of the relief extant, two in wax and two in terra-cotta. Two are in Florence, one in the Museo Nazionale, and the other in the Gherardesca collection; the other two are in the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford – one in terra-cotta,⁵⁰ the other in wax. The one in wax (Pl. 1a) has always been assumed to be that described by Richardson as brought by Trench⁵¹ from Italy. During the eighteenth century it was in the collection of the artist William Hoare, from whom it passed to his son, Prince Hoare, who seems to have given it (according to an old label on the back) to Philip Duncan, by whom it was presented to Oxford University.⁵²

A long-lived tradition (still believed by Prince Hoare, according to the above-mentioned label) has wrongly assigned this rather uncomfortable work to Michelangelo, and Richardson's ascription of it to that artist was generally believed in England. There were, however, some dissentient voices. For example, C. Rogers, in a note to his translation of the *Inferno*, after quoting Richardson on the bas-relief, points out its resemblance to the work by Pierino da Vinci, as described by Vasari, and adds that Richardson expresses himself more guardedly about its ascription to Michelangelo in the French edition of his work.⁵³ On looking up the French edition one finds that Richardson now says: 'Je ne déciderai point si la Pièce est de Michel-Ange ou non: il me suffit de dire, qu'elle est excellente, et qu'elle lui convient.'⁵⁴ Fuseli was also an eighteenth-century non-believer in the ascription, though he thought that there might have been a lost work by Michelangelo from which Pierino da Vinci had taken his idea.⁵⁵

Nevertheless, the general current of opinion long maintained the belief that this group was by Michelangelo, and the prestige which it thus acquired made it an important influence on subsequent presentations of the subject, particularly in the grouping of the sons in relation to the seated father, though the allegorical paraphernalia do not seem to have been much copied. An Italian engraving of 1782 (Pl. 1b), after the terra-cotta in the Gherardesca

collection helps to explain Pierino da Vinci's introduction of the Arno. It makes clear, on the left, what is obviously an island in the river, which can also be seen in embryo form in the Ashmolean relief. This probably refers to Dante's imprecation against Pisa at the end of the Ugolino episode, where he calls on Capraia and Gorgona, islands at the mouth of the Arno, to rise up and dam the river so that it may overflow and drown the inhabitants of Pisa who have been guilty of this crime. Pierino da Vinci has therefore perhaps meant to show by his introduction of the flooding Arno the just punishment which awaits this act of tyrannical injustice. It cannot be said, however, that this rather insipid and confused group is in any way a success, and Fuseli is right in complaining that the 'sullen but muscular character' of the main figure does not express 'the fierce Gothic chief, deprived of revenge, brooding over despair in the stony cage', or 'the exhausted agonies of a father, petrified by the helpless groans of an expiring family, offering their bodies for his good to prolong his life'.⁵⁶

After its treatment by Dante in poetry, and, supposedly, by Michelangelo in sculpture, Richardson would have liked to see the Ugolino subject treated by a painter. The ideal thing would have been for Michelangelo himself to have painted it:

And could we see the same story painted by the same great master it will easily be conceived that this must carry the matter still farther; there we might have had all the advantages of expression which the addition of colours would have given, and the colouring of Michel Angelo was as proper to that, as his genius was to the story in general; these would have shown us the pale and livid flesh of the dead and dying figures; the redness of the eyes, and bluish lips of the Count, the darkness and horror of the prison, and other circumstances, besides the habits (for in the bas-relief all the figures are naked as more proper for sculpture) these might be contrived so as to express the quality of the persons the more to excite our pity, as well as to enrich the picture by their variety.

We know that it was his reading Richardson's books when a youth which fired the ambition of Joshua Reynolds to become a painter.⁵⁷ What more natural, therefore, than that in later years he should attempt the subject which, as he had read in Richardson as a boy, had been sublimely treated by a great poet, and in

sculpture by the artist whom he idolised above all others, but which still awaited treatment by a painter? As Leslie and Taylor observed long ago, it was most probably this passage in Richardson's *Discourses* which suggested to Reynolds the idea of trying to execute the imaginary picture therein described.⁵⁸

The picture of *Count Ugolino and his Children in the Dungeon* (Pl. 2), as it is entitled in the Catalogue, was first exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1773. It was bought by the then Duke of Dorset and hung at Knole Park, where it has remained ever since. Though this picture achieved a European fame in Reynolds's own lifetime, it is not one which is well known to modern admirers of the artist, who prefer his portraits to his history-pieces, a judgment which was shared by some contemporaries.

If the picture is compared with the pseudo-Michelangelo bas-relief in reverse (Pl. 1c)⁵⁹ it becomes evident that the Reynolds composition has been influenced by the grouping of the figures in the bas-relief. As in the bas-relief, the father is seated, with one of the sons closely touching him, whilst the other three are arranged in a descending line, the middle one supporting the dying, or fainting, one. Reynolds is thus quite literally following Richardson's advice and transforming the sculptured group into a painting which should 'carry the matter further' than the sculpture could do by showing the 'darkness and horror of the prison'. The figures are clothed, and not in the naked state 'more proper for sculpture', and the rich, fur-edged mantle which the Count wears is perhaps intended 'to express the quality of the persons the more to excite our pity'.⁶⁰ Reynolds has tried to paint the picture which Richardson suggests that Michelangelo might have painted.

One contemporary makes this picture the typical example of Reynolds's cult for Michelangelo. In Seward's *Anecdotes of Distinguished Persons* occurs the following remark:

The late President of the Royal Academy carried his veneration for Michael Angelo so far, that he used to seal his letters with his head; and in the picture which he painted of himself for the Royal Academy, has represented himself standing near the bust of Michael Angelo, *whose manner he perhaps never imitated so successfully, as in his picture of the Death of Count Ugolino*.⁶¹

And that the picture was generally regarded as the expected pen-

dant to the Dante passage and the bas-relief is shown by another contemporary observation:

A whole family perishing from hunger in a gloomy dungeon, would appear to partake too much of the terrible for either poetry or painting, yet has Dante, by the introduction of various pathetic touches rendered such a description the most striking, original, and affecting scene perhaps in the world, and Sir Joshua Reynolds by his celebrated picture of Ugolino has shown that through the medium of exalted genius, it is equally adapted to the canvas. Michael Angelo, too, an enthusiastic disciple of Dante and possessing similar powers, has likewise executed a Bas-Relief on the subject.⁶²

The Reynolds picture is thus linked by the closest possible ties to Richardson's *Discourses*. It is the exact counterpart in art to that Ugolino-Dante whose career in literature, also inaugurated by Richardson, we followed in the preceding pages. And it was itself, owing to its fame and wide prestige, one of the major influences in the propagation of the attitude to Dante which we have been studying. For, as a writer in the *Quarterly Review* observed in 1823, 'Dante was brought into fashion in England by Sir Joshua Reynolds' Ugolino.'⁶³

The separation between the careers of Ugolino in literature and in art which we have hitherto made for the sake of clarity in following the intricacies of our theme is now seen to be an artificial one. Owing to Richardson's adoption of the story as a test case for *ut pictura poesis*,⁶⁴ it is through the tradition of connoisseurship that the figure of the Count is launched simultaneously in literature and in art. And since the precepts of *ut pictura poesis* were almost universally accepted in eighteenth-century England, it mattered not whether it was the artist who painted the passions of the suffering and oppressed father on his canvas, or the poet-translator who painted them in his verse.

In the catalogue of the exhibition at which the Reynolds picture was first exhibited some verses from Dante are printed with the title which prove that it is intended to represent the moment when the prisoners hear the locking of the door of the tower, Ugolino realises the truth in stony silence, and the youngest child asks apprehensively:

Tu guardi sì, Padre! Che hai?

Reynolds chose this moment, when the family is not yet in an advanced state of starvation, rather than the more dreadful later episode when the father bites his hands and the children offer themselves for food. Contemporary remarks on the picture satirising the well-fed appearance of the children fail to take into account that the artist has deliberately chosen a situation which provides unlimited scope for the pathetic, without introducing the disgusting. The story is told – as we have become accustomed to hear it, and now see it – in complete detachment from its context in the *Inferno*. The Count is not here a sinner in hell, but the suffering father of doomed innocent children. The artist has made every attempt to paint the passions of terrified anxiety in the children's faces, and of fixed despair in that of the father.

We have seen that the two main lines of appeal of the Ugolino story in England were the pathetic and the political. The pathetic side is certainly strongly represented in the picture. Is the political side there also? Do the dark walls of this prison, the heavy bars of the window through which the light of day penetrates but faintly, suggest man's enslavement under factious tyrannies which throw innocent people into dungeons and leave them to rot there? Does Ugolino's tragic stare call for vengeance on his wrongs, for justice and for liberty?

A valuable opportunity for overhearing what was said about this picture when it was first exhibited is provided by Giuseppe Baretti's *Easy Phraseology for Young Ladies*, published in 1775, which is a set of dialogues in Italian and English written for the benefit of Baretti's English pupils. In one of the dialogues⁶⁵ a Dog and a Cat, having paid a visit to the Royal Academy, discuss with one another in a very sprightly manner the impression made upon them by Sir Joshua's picture of Count Ugolino and his children. This dialogue has escaped both the eagle eye of Paget Toynbee in his search for Dante allusions, and also the researches of those interested in Reynolds.

The Cat informs the Dog that the picture which it likes best in the exhibition is the one of Ugolino. The Dog agrees, though he says that some squeamish folk have objected to it because it 'fills every beholder with horror'. The Cat, who has never heard of Dante, inquires who Count Ugolino was. The Dog replies that the historian Villani tells us that in 1288 the people of Pisa took Ugolino and shut him up in a tower. Thereupon the following conversation ensues:

CAT. I should not like such an adventure.

DOG. I know that. You love liberty, and so do the Americans.

CAT. Who are the Americans?

DOG. Mighty loyal people on the other side of the Atlantick.

CAT. But do you love liberty?

DOG. Oh, as to that, I love it as well as any lord mayor of London.

CAT. Then you shall have a statue erected in your honour.

DOG. Shall I have an inscription under my paw?

CAT. To be sure! An inscription setting forth that you are a dog possessed of as many canine virtues as any dog ever had.

DOG. Dear puss, dogs ought not to pant after so much glory.

CAT. Pray don't be singular. Every dog that can bark out the word Liberty, though quite ignorant of its true meaning, is to have statues and inscriptions . . . were he the worst basset that ever barked at the moon.

These remarks show that at this time, in the full heat of the bid for independence of the American colonies (the year in which the picture was exhibited was the year of the Boston Tea Party) and when the French Revolution was less than twenty years ahead, visitors to the Royal Academy connected Ugolino with Liberty – a connection which the later history of the theme, as we have seen, was to emphasise more and more. And there is some evidence that Reynolds's friend Burke, who was at this time making his famous speeches in favour of American independence, took an interest in the Ugolino picture. Indeed, Northcote says that it was Burke who suggested the subject to Reynolds,⁶⁶ and he mentions that Burke visited the studio whilst Reynolds was painting it.⁶⁷

Another political allusion is made in the Cat and Dog conversation. The Dog tells the Cat of Dante's description of the ghost of Ugolino gnawing a head in hell. The Cat asks:

Was it a calve's head?

This must be, I think, a reference to the 'Calve's Head Club', a famous political club which, after the Stuart restoration, used to meet yearly on the anniversary of the execution of Charles I to eat a calf's head, and toast the downfall of tyrants.⁶⁸ The calf's head symbolised that of the 'tyrant' Charles I. The symbolic eating

of a 'tyrant's' head in the 'Calve's Head Club', is here associated by Baretti with the Ugolino story.

It is interesting that the great academic and conservative painter, Reynolds, should have taken this revolutionary subject for one of his most famous historical canvases. And he has treated it in a spirit which foreshadows the Byronic Ugolino of the romantic era. With a few slight modifications, this Ugolino dungeon-picture could easily be transformed into a Prisoner of Chillon dungeon-picture.

There is a theatrical quality in the Reynolds group, particularly in the pose of the Count. Ugolino, as we have seen, becomes a Shakespearean character in the romantic revival in Germany, and in England too the episode is compared with Shakespearean parallels, as though it were a tragedy for the stage.⁶⁹ It is significant that Reynolds's most famous Shakespearean picture, the *Death of Cardinal Beaufort*,⁷⁰ seems to have been coupled in the public mind with his Ugolino. A poem by the Earl of Carlisle maintains that, without the great painter's learning and skill, we could not have experienced to the full certain tremendous emotions:

How, but for these, should we have trembling fled,
The guilty tossings of a Beaufort's bed;
Or let the fountain of our sorrows flow
At sight of famish'd Ugolino's woe?⁷¹

Lamb compares the expressions of Ugolino and Beaufort as 'Staring and Grinning Despair', and thinks that neither of them equals Hogarth's power of expressing despair.⁷² And elsewhere he says that these two pictures were hung opposite to one another in the exhibition of Reynolds's works at the Shakespeare Gallery in 1813, as though to compare or compete with one another.⁷³ Even Macaulay still finds it natural to mention these two compositions in the same breath.⁷⁴

Combining all these angles of vision in one last look at the Reynolds *Ugolino* it now appears as a picture of a romantic, 'Shakespearean', and revolutionary theme painted in a conservative, academic, pseudo-Michelangesque manner. Perhaps it is some incompatibility between content and form which gives the picture its disturbing quality. Reynolds has avoided going to the full lengths which the unlimited horror of his subject demanded in order to keep within the bounds of his borrowed formal patterns. The result is that the picture, though powerfully painted

and arresting, fails either to plumb the depths of genuine tragedy or to satisfy as a classical composition. Nevertheless, even to unsympathetic twentieth-century beholders, it undoubtedly conveys something of the peculiar quality of the emotional charge which the figure of Ugolino had for the age to which it belongs.

FUSELI

Fuseli had studied as a young man in Zurich under Bodmer,⁷⁵ from whom he acquired an enthusiasm both for English literature and for Dante. Perhaps he had already read Richardson's *Discourses* before coming to England, and he must have been fully cognisant of the anti-classical campaign in which his tutor Bodmer and the figure of Ugolino played leading parts. In 1806 Fuseli exhibited at the Royal Academy a picture on the subject of Ugolino and his children in the Hunger Tower. Fuseli's *Ugolino*⁷⁶ aroused much controversy and seems to have been generally regarded as a challenge to Reynolds's treatment of the theme.

The picture is thus described by Fuseli's biographer, John Knowles:

In 1806, he painted from Dante, Count Ugolino being starved to death with his four sons in the Tower, which, from that circumstance, was afterwards called 'Torre della Fame'; this picture, as it came in competition with that well-known subject from the pencil of Sir Joshua Reynolds, was admired and censured more than any other he had previously produced. Fuseli took the moment when Ugolino is petrified by his situation, – 'bereft of tears his heart is turned to stone'; he has represented him in a sitting posture with his youngest son stretched dead over his knees, while the other three are either writhing under the agonies of hunger, dying, or given up to despair. This picture (now in my possession) is as superior in drawing, in truth to nature placed in such circumstances, and to the story, as Sir Joshua's soars above it in colour, in manual dexterity, and in chiaroscuro.⁷⁷

Knowles's remarks, and those of other critics of the picture, suggest that Fuseli intended it as a protest against the timidly academic treatment of the theme by Reynolds. He disapproved both of the bas-relief and of the Reynolds picture for their lack of truth to

nature. We have already quoted his remarks to this effect anent the bas-relief. He particularly disliked the sentimentality of the youngest child as portrayed by Reynolds. 'Is it natural,' he enquires, 'to see a blooming stripling . . . at his ease console the petrified father' while the other children 'writhe in the agonies of hunger' or 'droop in languor'?⁷⁸

I have so far been unable to discover the present whereabouts of Fuseli's *Ugolino*,⁷⁹ nor what became of it after the death of Knowles. The engraving after it by Moses Haughton (Pl. 3a) must therefore suffice to give an idea of its plan, if not of its quality. There is no trace of the pseudo-Michelangelo bas-relief in Fuseli's grouping of the sons, one of whom is shown by a hand only.⁸⁰ Michelangesque influences are, however, perceptible, and the artist has perhaps intended to give a religious intensity to the central figures by hinting at a *Pietà* in the pose of the dying child across the father's knees. If so, this was not visible to the anonymous critic of Fuseli's work in *Bell's Weekly Messenger* who complained that: 'In the present group, Ugolino has the appearance of a man who, having in a fit of frenzy destroyed the young female who lies across his knees, has just returned to a sense of reason and remorse at the act which he has perpetrated. . . . The figure of the daughter, as thrown across the knees of the father, from the perpendicular hanging of the limbs in right-angles with the position of the body, conveys more the idea of a drowned figure, just taken from the waters, than that of a female emaciated and contracted by famine.'⁸¹

To this attack on his friend's picture, William Blake heatedly replied two months later (July 1806). 'Mr. Fuseli's Count Ugolino,' says Blake, 'is the father of sons of feeling and dignity, who would not sit looking in their parent's face in the moments of his agony, but would rather retire and die in secret, while they suffer him to indulge his passionate and innocent grief, his innocent and venerable madness and insanity and fury and whatever paltry, cold-hearted critics cannot, because they dare not, look upon. Fuseli's Count Ugolino is a man of wonder and admiration, of resentment against man and devil, and of humiliation before God; prayer and parental affection fill the figure from head to foot. The child in his arms, whether boy or girl signifies not (but our critic must be a fool who has not read Dante, and who does not know a boy from a girl), I say, the child is as beautifully drawn as it is coloured – in both inimitable; and the effect of the whole is truly sublime.'⁸²

There is an obvious cut in this at the child in Reynolds's picture,

looking in his father's face, and it is clear that Fuseli's picture aimed at a tragic realism, a religious intensity, which was deliberately intended to contrast with the frigid correctness of Reynolds's treatment of the subject.

A very curious drawing of *Count Ugolino and his Two Sons* (Pl. 3b) in the Sir Robert Witt Collection may possibly be an echo of the controversy, though it has no apparent relation to Fuseli's picture. In the left-hand corner are the words 'Fuseli pinxit', but the drawing is not by Fuseli. It has been tentatively attributed to George Dance. The design might hint, perhaps satirically, at the *Laocoon*,⁸³ and this would in turn suggest that the Ugolino controversy was raising profound and important problems.

The Richardson tradition, with its emphasis on Ugolino as a test case for the *ut pictura poesis* theory, had reached Reynolds in the direct line of its influence in England. But it had reached Fuseli (if we are right in our assumptions concerning the connections between Richardson's and Bodmer's works) after export to the continent where, as we saw, Ugolino passed through a *Sturm und Drang* phase. We may have here the root of the contrast, or controversy, between the Reynolds Ugolino and the Fuseli Ugolino; the one is Dante as an English 'Shakespearean' theme, the other that theme returning to England after a sojourn in Germany where it has been further romanticised. The two Ugolinos would thus be test cases for the styles of Reynolds and Fuseli as illustrators of the poets.

BLAKE

In the last years of his life, William Blake was engaged on the illustration of Dante. Of his two drawings for the thirty-third canto of the *Inferno*, the first (Pl. 4a) shows two spirits pent in a hollow of the ice, the one devouring the head of the other. Blake here shows us Ugolino in his true setting, not as the hero of a tragedy detached from its infernal context in the usual eighteenth-century manner. The other drawing (Pl. 4b) depicts the sufferings in the Hunger Tower to which he draws sympathetic attention through the hovering angels.

He was working on the Dante illustrations about 1826 or 1827, and for the second Ugolino he repeated a design which he had used in the *Gates of Paradise* (Pl. 4e) more than thirty years earlier. We may therefore presume that in the emblem for the

Gates of Paradise he also had Ugolino in mind: note the words under the picture, 'Does thy God O Priest take such vengeance as this?' This emblem in the series comes immediately after the one showing 'Aged Ignorance' (Pl. 4c) clipping the wings of the free imagination. The verses which accompany the two pictures together are:

Holy and cold I clipd the wings
Of all Sublunary Things
And in the depths of my dungeons
Closed the Father and the Sons.

These emblems become, I think, much clearer in the light of our new knowledge of the eighteenth-century Ugolino. Blake is using the theme in the usual way as a symbol of liberty, not in this case necessarily political liberty, or emotional liberty, but imaginative liberty. The forces of Aged Ignorance, or traditional rules, which clip the wings of the imagination are the same as those which imprison Ugolino and his sons. Through his friendship with Fuseli, Blake could have known of the use of the Ugolino subject to break the tyranny of the rules of classical drama. He is perhaps using it in a similar manner, as a protest against the imprisonment of the free imagination.

We know that Blake's *bête noire* was academism in art, particularly as represented by Sir Joshua Reynolds. We know, too, how warmly he defended Fuseli's Ugolino, condemning by implication the Reynolds picture and its grouping of the figures. This was, of course, after the publication of the *Gates of Paradise*; but the very heat with which Blake enters into the controversy shows how much the Reynolds picture must have weighed on his mind.

Nothing could be more diametrically opposed to the pseudo-Michelangesque arrangement of the figures in Reynolds's 'Ugolino' than Blake's arrangement. The only point in common is that the father is seated. The sons are divided into two groups of two each, instead of one and three. And the arrangement of the legs of the two foreground figures is most provocatively unacademic. Is Blake trying to break in his mind the 'tyranny' of such suavely academic patterns as the grouping in the Reynolds picture?⁸⁴ And are the Father and the Sons enclosed in these dungeons themselves the imaginative life inhibited from free, individual, and original expression?

The importance of Ugolino in Blake's vision of Dante is further shown by his *Portrait of Dante* (Pl. 4d) painted for Hayley's library at Felpham about 1801, in which the suffering Count and his children appear as the background to the central medallion.⁸⁵

FLAXMAN

Flaxman, the friend of Fuseli and Blake, chose unusual moments in the Ugolino story for illustration. The first (Pl. 5a) shows the arrest of the Count, a deeply wronged man, taken, like Laocoon, in the toils of an evil fate, with the crafty Archbishop scowling villainously in the background, illustrating not only Dante's words 'Fidandomi di lui io fossi preso' but also Boyd's tendentious paraphrase, 'The curs'd prelate by whose arts I fell.'

The second (Pl. 5c) boldly chooses the moment of deepest horror. Ugolino, now blind, is groping over the dead bodies of his sons. With his economy of line and his good taste, Flaxman has perhaps here almost succeeded in representing the terrible without the disgusting in a truly classical manner, and his model for the head of this profoundly tragic figure is certainly the *Laocoon* (Pl. 5b).⁸⁶

UGOLINO PICTURES IN THE RISORGIMENTO

Meanwhile, on the continent, the Ugolino fashion was growing, influenced by Gerstenberg's drama, by the engravings of the Reynolds picture and by Byron.

Byron, as we have seen, wrote *The Prisoner of Chillon* as a modernised Ugolino story, which itself became a popular subject for dungeon pictures, of which one example must suffice (Pl. 5e).⁸⁷ There is also evidence that he was interested in representations of the suffering Count. In 1821 he hired the Lanfranchi Palace at Pisa, and Shelley stayed with him there. On entering the palace to visit the two poets, Medwin suddenly remembered that Lanfranchi was one of the persecutors of Ugolino, and reminded Shelley of this. Whereupon Shelley told him that he would see a picture of Ugolino and his sons in Byron's room.⁸⁸ Elsewhere Medwin says that this picture was by a sister of the Countess Guiccioli.⁸⁹ Thus Byron in Pisa, the scene of the tragedy, keeps himself in constant remembrance of it through the picture in his

sanctum. And whilst at Ravenna in the same year, 1821, Byron noted in his journal: 'received to-day a print or an etching of the story of Ugolino, by an Italian painter – different, of course, from Sir Joshua Reynolds's, and I think (as far as recollection goes) *no worse*, for Reynolds is not good in history.'⁹⁰

The two contemporaries, Byron and Blake, so totally disparate in temperament and circumstances, agree in dislike of the Reynolds picture and in using Ugolino as an emblem of their aspirations. For Byron, of course, the Ugolino cult was a part of that enthusiasm for Dante as the 'poet of Liberty' which he felt rising all around him in the Italy of the early Risorgimento, and with which he identified himself so deeply.

The picture by an Italian artist (which I have been unable to trace) of which Byron was sent a print must have been an early example of a class which was soon to become numerous. In the second quarter of the nineteenth century there was a flood of Ugolino pictures in Italy, corresponding to the flood of plays, verse translations, poems, of which we spoke earlier. To mention only a few examples: there was one by Antonio Banfi in 1828; one by Giuseppe Diotti in 1832; one by Giuseppe Bezzuoli before 1845; one by Antonio Gualdi in 1838. Hardly a year passed from about 1828 until about 1845 in which the subject was not treated by one or more Italian painters or sculptors.⁹¹ And the fashion raged with almost equal intensity in other countries; we show a painful example by the Belgian artist, Edouard de Biefve (Pl. 3c).⁹² There must be quantities of bad Ugolino pictures of this period, lying deservedly forgotten in provincial museums.

The influence of the engravings of the Reynolds picture may have been partly instrumental in starting this fashion. It was first engraved by John Dixon in 1774, the year after its first exhibition, and also more than once later.⁹³ We have Horace Walpole's authority for the influence of engravings of Reynolds's works in Italy. 'The prints after the works of Sir Joshua Reynolds have spread his fame to Italy,' says Walpole, adding in the next sentence, 'In what age were paternal despair and the horrors of death pronounced with more expressive accents than in his picture of Count Ugolino'⁹⁴ which suggests that he may have been thinking in particular of prints after that work.

A detailed examination of all the Italian Ugolino pictures would probably reveal the truth of Walpole's words. We take, however, only one example of this unfortunate influence on Italian art, the picture by Pietro Benvenuti (Pl. 6a) exhibited at the Florentine

Accademia in 1828, and bought by the Conte della Gherardesca, a descendant of the family to which the original Ugolino belonged. The picture is still in the Gherardesca collection in Florence.⁹⁵ The obvious comparison of it with the Reynolds Ugolino was made at the time by an English visitor to the exhibition.⁹⁶

The seated main figure of this group presents the curious spectacle of the Count with the fur-edged mantle, which he had assumed in England to show his 'quality', dropping from him as he reverts to the nakedness 'more proper for sculpture'. The artist has clearly been influenced not only by the Reynolds picture but also by the Pierino da Vinci bas-relief. As already mentioned, one of the copies of the bas-relief is in the Gherardesca collection; and it had long been in the possession of that family when this picture was painted, and acquired by a Conte della Gherardesca.⁹⁷ In combining his imitation of Reynolds with that of the Gherardesca version of the bas-relief (for one feels sure that it must have been that one that he used), Benvenuti has thus caused the Reynolds figure of Ugolino to revert to its own original model.

The tradition attributing the bas-relief to Michelangelo was still alive in Italy, as is shown in the pamphlet by A. Zobi on Dante's Ugolino, published at Florence in 1840, in which the Gherardesca terra-cotta of the bas-relief is reproduced in an engraved frontispiece.⁹⁸ Zobi firmly maintains that the work is by Michelangelo, though he discusses the Pierino da Vinci possibility. Amongst the presentations of the story in modern art he mentions Benvenuti's picture, and also the picture by Reynolds which he says that he has seen in a print.

In Florence in the mid-nineteenth century there is thus a revival going on of the old parallel between the representations of the Ugolino story by Dante in poetry, and by 'Michelangelo' in sculpture.

CARPEAUX

When, from about 1861 onwards, the French sculptor Carpeaux was working in Rome on a bronze group of Ugolino and his children, he was surrounded by an extraordinary atmosphere of excitement.⁹⁹ It was rumoured that a new Michelangelo had arisen; the Princess Borghese, a descendant of Vittoria Colonna who was loved by Michelangelo, is said to have fainted with emotion when she saw the group. Perhaps this is a late flare-up, both of the

emotional charge latent in the figure of Ugolino, and of the tradition associating its representation with Michelangelo. The bronze (Pl. 6b) was exhibited at the Paris Salon of 1863, and is now in the Louvre. Is there still to be discerned in this work some trace of the grouping in the relief – the three sons arranged in a descending line to the dying one, and the fourth son detached from the others and in a closer relationship to the father? If so, the bogus tradition had at last given birth to a great work of art. Possibly Carpeaux had in mind a combination of the grouping of the bas-relief with that of the *Laocoon*, by which he was certainly influenced. There is no sentimental avoidance of the depth and horror of the tragedy here. Carpeaux has chosen the moment when the father bites his hands and the sons make their dreadful offer.

RODIN

For many years of his life, Rodin worked on his great conception of a portal of hell peopled with scenes from the *Inferno*. Ugolino appears in one of the scenes, crawling blindly over the dead bodies of his children; and high up in the centre is a massive, seated figure, brooding over the spectacle of man's damnation. *Le Penseur* (Pl. 6c) is thought to have been somewhat influenced by Carpeaux's *Ugolino*. Here is a figure, perhaps influenced by a conception of Ugolino, yet grown to such tremendous proportions that he has come to represent the Poet¹⁰⁰ or the Thinker himself, gloomily immersed in the problem of the fate of man. If it is permissible to see in the seated *Penseur* some trace of the long tradition for the representation of Ugolino,¹⁰¹ then here the Count's remarkable power of transcending his place in hell and conquering a heroic and independent position for himself would reach a last climax.

LODOVICO DA PIRANO'S MEMORY TREATISE*

THE CLASSICAL ART of memory was invented in Greece, whence it was passed on to Rome and is described in the Latin treatise on rhetoric known as the *Ad Herennium*, which was supposed throughout the Middle Ages to be by Cicero, or 'Tullius', as he used to be called. It was a mnemonic technique which worked through memorising a series of 'places' on which 'images' were memorised. There were certain rules about what kind of memory 'places' to choose, and what kind of memory 'images'. The anonymous author of *Ad Herennium* gives the fullest exposition of the art, which has come down to us through his exposition of it, but it is also referred to by Cicero and by Quintilian. The Middle Ages knew only the description of the art in *Ad Herennium*, which passed through that period as the authoritative way of committing material to memory. In the thirteenth century the art of memory was formulated anew by Thomas Aquinas and Albertus Magnus, who made the use of it a moral duty and introduced into the rules of *Ad Herennium* subtleties derived from their study of Aristotle on memory in his *De memoria et reminiscentia*.

I begin with this extremely bald summary of a complicated subject, which I have treated at some length in my book *The Art of Memory*,¹ because it must be explained at the outset that Lodovico da Pirano's memory treatise, with which we are concerned

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here, belongs to the tradition of the classical art of memory. Like the author of *Ad Herennium*, Lodovico da Pirano gives rules for the formation of memory places and memory images. Like Thomas Aquinas, he introduces notions derived from Aristotelian psychology of memory into the rules. Nevertheless, though Lodovico da Pirano is following a well known tradition, there are peculiarities in his memory treatise which make it worthy of fuller attention than I gave it in my book, where it is only briefly mentioned.²

The treatise³ was probably written fairly early in the fifteenth century and can be regarded as an early specimen of a genre which was to become more and more popular as the century progressed. Though we know that in earlier centuries the memory rules were known and were being applied, the genre of the *ars memorativa* treatise begins to become established only in the fifteenth century. The early fifteenth-century treatises are, of course, in manuscript; with the spread of printing, printed memory treatises began to appear, and the genre became very important in the sixteenth century. Practically all known memory treatises base themselves on *Ad Herennium*, and give the traditional rules for places and rules for images, though with variations of many kinds.

Before a full study of the genre can be undertaken a full bibliography of all surviving manuscript treatises is needed. Towards this objective a notable contribution has been made by Paul Kristeller, who in his invaluable *Iter Italicum*⁴ has listed a number of hitherto unknown *ars memorativa* treatises discovered by him among the manuscript collections in Italian libraries. By consulting the indices to the volumes of *Iter Italicum*, under 'Memory, artificial', the student of this subject will be led to manuscript material on this topic not listed elsewhere. I am glad to use this article to draw attention to the work which Paul Kristeller has done in this field.

A problem which arises concerning the earlier fifteenth-century memory treatises is the question of whether or not the writers could have been influenced by traditions of classical memory practice, which might have survived from Greek sources or traditions in Byzantium. In the Latin West the Latinised version of the memory rules, derived from Greek sources now lost, had hitherto been the sole source of the tradition, but the fifteenth century might have been able to tap, through the renewed contact with Byzantium, a mnemonic tradition stemming directly from Greek Antiquity.

There was certainly an interest in mnemonics in Byzantium, for a Greek translation of the memory section of *Ad Herennium* exists, made possibly by Maximus Planudes in the fourteenth century or by Theodore of Gaza in the fifteenth.⁵ Was there in Byzantium a mnemonic tradition stemming directly from Greek sources, perhaps deriving ultimately from Greek mnemonic practices known to Aristotle, who was certainly interested in an art of memory somewhat similar to the one described in *Ad Herennium*? Among the many importations into Western culture due to the interchange between Byzantine and Latin scholars at the Church Councils early in the century ought we to number a Byzantine tradition for artificial memory which came to join, and complicate, the already existing Latin and Western tradition? I raised this question in my book, without solving it, and I raise it again here, also without solving it. Yet I hope that by giving more information about Lodovico da Pirano's memory treatise I may tempt other scholars to look into the question. For Lodovico da Pirano was certainly in contact with Greek scholars at the Councils, and had some knowledge of Greek. If any new Greek influences came into the memory tradition through the contact with Byzantium they should be apparent in Lodovico's treatise.

Lodovico probably wrote his treatise at Padua, where he was teaching from about 1422 onwards.⁶ He was a Franciscan of the province of St Anthony of Padua; he taught theology, philosophy and rhetoric in the university of Padua. He is mentioned for his knowledge of Latin and Greek – note the 'and Greek' – by Filelfo and by Sicco Polentone. The highlight of his career was his attendance at the Council of Basel, where he spoke in the dispute *in Coena Domini*, and after the transference of the Council to Ferrara he was spokesman for the Latins on the *filioque* question in the presence of the Greeks Pletho and Bessarion. In fact Lodovico da Pirano spoke in reply to Bessarion on this burning theological question, the main subject of dispute between the Latin and Greek Churches.

I am not here concerned with Lodovico as theologian, but the placing of him in this conciliar milieu, where momentous contact was made between Byzantine and Latin cultural traditions, is of interest in connection with his memory treatise. Though, as already observed, the treatise certainly belongs mainly to the Latin and scholastic memory tradition, it also contains some unusual features which make one wonder whether Lodovico had picked up, through his knowledge of Greek and contacts with Greek

scholars, points from Greek memory training possibly surviving in Byzantium.

In its opening words Lodovico's treatise makes an astonishing departure from the Latin tradition in its choice of the 'inventor' of the art of memory. These opening words, translated from the Latin, are:

The philosopher Democritus, an Athenian, was the first inventor of the artificial memory, who wrote on it in such an obscure manner that no one, until Cicero, understood it.

To the historian of the art of memory there is a novelty here which is positively alarming. In no Latin source is Democritus named as the inventor of the art. The time-honoured 'first inventor' of the art was Simonides of Ceos, who was said to have invented it through noting the places at which guests at a banquet were sitting. The story is told by Cicero in *De oratore*⁷ and for the Latin tradition it established Simonides as the inventor of the art of memory. Lodovico da Pirano makes no mention of Simonides; for him Democritus was the inventor of the art of memory. Moreover in this version of the invention of the art of memory, or the artificial memory, as it was usually called, the invention is not presented in mythical form, as in the story of Simonides' discovery of it through his attendance at the fatal banquet. It is a much more concrete statement. Democritus, we are told, had written in a very obscure and difficult way about the art; these writings of his were known to Cicero, who was the first to understand them.

By 'Cicero' Lodovico da Pirano would almost certainly mean the author of *Ad Herennium*, universally supposed to have been written by Cicero. The author of *Ad Herennium* had certainly consulted Greek writings on the art of memory, and in particular he mentions Greek sources when discussing 'memory for words'.

I must briefly explain, referring the reader to my book for further enlightenment, that the author of *Ad Herennium* speaks of two kinds of artificial memory. One is the 'memory for things', or notions; the other is 'memory for words'. In the first method the student aims at memorising only the notions, thoughts, ideas which he will discuss in his speech; for these general notions, or 'things', he forms images to remind him of the 'things' which he memorises on the set orders of 'places' which he has stored in memory. In the second method the aim is to memorise every word

in the speech; in this method some image or symbol has to be found for every word, and these images are memorised on the set orders of places. For both types of memory the formation of the memory places is necessary; but in 'memory for things' images of notions are remembered on the places; in 'memory for words' a separate symbol for every word must be memorised on the places.

The author of *Ad Herennium* regards 'memory for words' as a characteristically 'Greek' system. In discussing it he says:

I know that most of the Greeks who have written on the memory have taken the course of listing images that correspond to a great many words, so that persons who wished to learn these images by heart would have them ready without expending effort in search of them.⁸

He goes on to say that he does not recommend this 'Greek' method, which he thinks too difficult, and advises the student to concentrate on 'memory for things'. It will be enough for him to have in memory the subject matter of his speech, in its right order, and he need not memorise every word in the speech.

I suggest that it may be to this passage in *Ad Herennium* that Lodovico da Pirano is referring when he says that the 'Greek' method of Democritus is very difficult, and was not understood until explained by 'Cicero', that is, by the author of *Ad Herennium*. No writings on memory by Democritus have survived, so we cannot know whether the great philosopher used some peculiarly difficult memory-for-words system for memorising his atomic theory.

Thinking over 'Simonides' and 'Democritus' as rivals for the honour of having invented the art of memory, it may be observed that Simonides (c. 556-468) belongs to an earlier generation, one which almost recedes into a mythical and Pythagorean past, whereas Democritus (c. 460-370) belongs to the rationalising era, being almost contemporary with Aristotle (c. 384-322). Democritus is in fact frequently mentioned by Aristotle. A 'Democritean' memory tradition in Byzantium (if such a thing existed) might therefore have been (1) a difficult memory-for-words tradition or (2) a tradition heavily influenced by Aristotelian psychology of memory.

For what it is worth, this is exactly what we find in Lodovico da Pirano's memory treatise, which concentrates on memory for words, the images in which are to be formed in accordance with

Aristotelian theory of association. I do not think that these points are sufficient to *prove* Byzantine influence on Lodovico's memory treatise, but they form an interesting pointer towards future research in these directions.

The existence of Lodovico da Pirano's treatise, in the manuscript in the Marciana library in Venice, was first pointed out by Felice Tocco,⁹ who drew attention to the 'Democritus' peculiarity and suggested that it is a mistake for 'Metrodorus' (named by Pliny as perfecter of the art of memory).¹⁰ Baccio Ziliotto, in the introduction to his reprint of the treatise, repeats Tocco's idea and adds the further thought that Democritus' name might have become attached to the memory tradition through the story told by Aulus Gellius of this philosopher, that he blinded himself to make his inner contemplation more acute. 'Democritus' is sometimes vaguely named as an authority in the alchemical tradition.

The guess now very cautiously put forward is that Lodovico might be repeating some Greek tradition about Democritus and memory of which he had heard through his contacts with Byzantine scholars. The suggestion may be helped by the differences between Pirano's treatise and the Latin memory tradition which might conceivably be due to Greek influence. The problem is, however, obviously a complicated one, and it is possible that other influences may account for the differences. Possibly the fact that Lodovico was a Franciscan, whereas the main Latin memory tradition was shaped by the Dominicans, is an important factor in the situation.

But let us now turn to examine Lodovico's treatise. He gives the rules for 'places' in schematic form, as headings to which he then adds explanatory notes. I here give the headings in Latin, followed by abbreviated English translations of the explanations.

Multitudo. Memory places should be sufficient in number to hold all the material to be memorised.

Premeditatio. There should be repeated concentration on the memory places.

Vacuitas sive solitudo. Places should be memorised in unfrequented buildings or districts so that concentration is undisturbed.

Quinto loci signatio. Every fifth place is to be marked with a hand.

Dissimilitudo. Places shall not be too much alike; for example,

a series of cells of the brothers are not good as memory places, for they are too similar.

Mediocris magnitudo. Places shall be neither too large nor too small.

Mediocris lux. Places should be neither too brightly lighted nor too obscure.

Distantia. The distance between places should not be too great or too small: Tullius¹¹ suggests about 30 ft.

Fictio. We may imagine a palace or a temple containing many places, but this is to be done only to exercise the memory.

Multiplicatio. Places may be 'multiplied' by imagining a line running from east to west upon which are placed imaginary towers, as shown in the figure; places may be multiplied through these, that is to say by being changed per *sursum*, *deorsum*, *anteorsum*, *retrorsum*, *dextrorsum*, and *sinistrorsum*.

With the exception of the last rule on 'multiplication' of places, discussion of which I omit for the moment, all these rules are simply the rules for forming memory places as they are given in *Ad Herennium*, the author of which states that memory places must not be too large or too small, too bright or too dark, that the fifth place should be marked by a hand, and so on.¹² Lodovico is carefully following the classical rules and choosing his places, or memory *loci*, with care. Like the rhetoric students whom the author of *Ad Herennium* taught in ancient Rome, he will wander through buildings and streets, impressing on his memory 'places' chosen in accordance with the rules on which he will later memorise images to remind him of the points of his speech. He is not, however, forming his memory places in ancient Rome but in his monastery. In the classical memory treatise the rule that places must not be too much alike is exemplified by the mention of too many 'intercolumniations' as not suitable for memory places. Lodovico changes this example to 'the cells of the brothers'. Too many cells in a row are too much alike and not suitable to choose as memory places, just as in ancient Rome the spaces in a colonnade were too monotonous and similar.

Lodovico does not give a mystical intensity to the rule about memorising in solitary places, as Thomas Aquinas does.¹³ But he expands the rule on *mediocris lux*, that the places are not to be too brightly lighted nor too obscure, with a quotation from Aristotle's *De anima* which he interprets in a mystical direction, as

though examining light in a memory place in terms of light in the soul.

In the correct classical manner Lodovico next gives the rules for forming memory images, which he calls *idola*. Here he parts company, to some extent, from *Ad Herennium*, for we hear nothing in his memory rules about choosing images with an emotionally striking appearance, those human images which are actively doing something – the *imagines agentes*¹⁴ – which *Ad Herennium* advises. Lodovico's rules for images are dryly based on the Aristotelian laws of association, through similarity, dissimilarity and contiguity, as laid down in the *De memoria et reminiscentia*. He also gives much attention to 'memory for words', the memorising of every word in a speech through images for each word. The author of *Ad Herennium*, on the contrary, advises the student to memorise 'things' or notions and not to attempt the memorising of every word.¹⁵ These two characteristics of Lodovico's attitude – dependence on Aristotelian association and insistence on memory for words – can be clearly seen in his rules for images. The *idola*, or images to be chosen for use in memory, should be:

In toto simile. That is, exactly like what is to be remembered, as a stone for a stone or Martin himself for Martin.

In toto dissimile per contrarium. As black for white.

In toto dissimile per consuetudinem. As, for Peter, someone who is often with Peter; for a house, a house near it.

In toto dissimile per impositionem. This is to be done either alphabetically, or without the alphabet.

1 *Per alphabetum*. By using animals or any other class of things as representing letters of the alphabet, as *Asinus*, A; *Bos*, B.¹⁶

2 *Sine alphabeto*. In this method images for each word are memorised.

Partim simile per compositionem. As, for example, one may remember 'Mutinensis' by a *mutus* holding an *ensis*. (*Mutinensis* means 'of the city of Mutina'. We are to remember the word by the image of a dumb man holding a sword.) This is a composite image which is 'partly similar' in its components to the sound of the word to be remembered.

Per diminutionem. As 'bertus' for 'Robertus'.

Per transpositionem. As 'maro' for 'Roma'; 'mora' for 'amor'.
Per loquelam. Here we imagine the images to be speaking.

What is missing from Lodovico's rules for images is the classic rule that human images, notably for emotionally exciting qualities, are to be used in 'memory for things'. It was this rule, with its appeal to emotion as a factor in stimulating memory, which gave rise to the effort to invent strikingly beautiful or strikingly hideous human images representing 'things' or notions. Such images, when ranged in the 'places' of memory, would have looked very like inner versions of 'things' constantly seen in medieval didactic art, images of virtues and vices, made strikingly beautiful or strikingly ugly. All this side of the art of memory, so important for its connections with art, seems to be omitted by Lodovico da Pirano. This is partly because he is not interested in 'memory for things' but only in 'memory for words', and in his rules for images he relies on Aristotelian principles of association rather than on the emotionally striking principles recommended in *Ad Herennium*.

Lodovico's three first rules for images, given above, are based on the principles of similarity (*in toto simile*), dissimilarity (*in toto dissimile*) and contiguity. This is purely Aristotelian theory of association, reminding one of a thing by something like it, or by something unlike it, or by something near it. In his fourth rule he is (1) using visual alphabets, or images formed to resemble letters of the alphabet, (2) memorising lists of images for every word.

Lodovico's rules for images are thus directed towards a verbal memory working through associative law and through memorising images for every word. That is to say, he is thinking of a 'memory for words' of the type called 'Greek' by the author of *Ad Herennium*, and of a psychology of memory which is dryly Aristotelian and without the rich, emotional, image-forming methods which the Latin tradition had encouraged.

Another interesting point in Lodovico's treatise is that he envisages his memory-for-words method as being used to remember not only Latin words but words of foreign languages, and particularly Greek words. For example, he gives an image through which to remember 'the Greek word for the sea, which is *tellesum*' (i.e. θάλασσα).

There are thus in Lodovico's treatise points which distinguish it from the Latin mnemonic tradition. It introduces as inventor of the art of memory Democritus instead of the accepted Simonides. It concentrates on Aristotelian laws of association; the use of

Aristotelian psychology from *De memoria et reminiscentia* was characteristic of the Latin scholastic discussion of the art of memory, but Lodovico's rules for images are particularly associative and Aristotelian. It stresses memory for words, and recommends the use of a type of this which *Ad Herennium* rejected and called 'Greek'. It envisages the use of memory for words for remembering Greek or other foreign words, as well as Latin. Have we enough here to justify a guess that Lodovico knew something of Greek mnemonic tradition surviving in Byzantium, through his contacts with Byzantine scholars?

There exists, in a garbled and corrupt form, a Greek treatise on rhetoric said to have been written by Cassius Longinus, who lived c. A.D. 213-73 and which treats, in a difficult and obscure manner, of the mnemonic through places and images.¹⁷ It relies on Aristotelian association and may be envisaging the use of associative images for memorising words. It certainly has in mind remembering not only Greek words but also 'the speech of foreigners'. Is it possible that it is this latest Greek mnemonic tradition, preserved in Byzantium, that we meet again in Lodovico, with his image rules taken from Aristotle rather than from 'Tullius', his memory for words which can apply in several languages?

This suggestion must be left in the form of a guess, as yet unsupported by evidence. In any case, it is a guess which does not explain 'Democritus', who is not named as inventor of the art of memory by Cassius Longinus¹⁸ or by any known Greek source.

There are a few other fifteenth-century memory treatises which also mention Democritus as inventor of the art. One is by Troilus Boncompagno; another by J. A. Quirini. Both these manuscripts are in the Marciana at Venice.¹⁹ Another manuscript treatise which mentions Democritus is the one by Luca Braga, written at Padua in 1477, of which there is a copy in the British Library.²⁰ Braga, however, also mentions Simonides as inventor and speaks of Thomas Aquinas as proficient in the art. Since Braga, like Lodovico da Pirano, writes in Padua, it is possibly in Paduan circles that one should look for an explanation of the appearance in the fifteenth century of Democritus as inventor of the art of memory.

It will be remembered that one of Lodovico's rules for memory places is an extraordinary one on 'multiplication of places', up and down, backwards and forwards, to right and to left. Unlike all Lodovico's other place rules, this one is not to be found in *Ad Herennium*. It is said to work through the agency of imaginary

towers placed on a line running from east to west 'as shown in the figure'. In the Marciana manuscript from which Ziliotto printed Lodovico's treatise this figure is not given, but it can be seen in other manuscripts of the same work, one also in the Marciana,²¹ the other in the Vatican.²²

The figure as seen in these manuscripts consists of two parts: a square divided into eight sections by vertical, horizontal and diagonal lines; and nine 'towers' placed on a line with the sun at each end of it, the 'east-west' line. The towers have doors to them and are clearly memory buildings divided into many 'places'. The towers are tall, to admit of many rows of 'places', they are very roughly and schematically indicated. The first tower is, I believe, the memory building before any 'multiplication of places' has been done on it. The other eight are labelled as intended to show 'multiplication' *per addendo et diminuendo* (not mentioned in the text), and *per sursum, deorsum, antrorsum, retrorsum, dextrorsum, sinistrorsum* (as mentioned in the text).

'Multiplication of places' is a technique frequently mentioned in the memory tradition. It is basically quite a simple notion. Once one has grasped the idea that 'artificial memory' works through memorising many places – usually places in or on buildings – it is clear that when one has used up all the places memorised for remembering one's speech (or whatever material is being committed to memory) there will be no room for remembering any additions made later to the speech, or any other additional material. Therefore one adds – in imagination, of course – another wing or other sets of rooms to the imaginary memory building, which will provide additional places. In its simplest form 'multiplication of places' is no more than this. There are, however, further complications through which the same set of places can be used in different directions for remembering different sets of material or different speeches. I imagine that Lodovico's towers represent this idea, showing places which can be read up and down, inwards and outwards, to left and to right.

Interpretation of the more abstruse memory rules is, however, difficult, nor can one feel quite sure whether they are entirely rational. The 'east-west' line on which the memory towers stand introduces a cosmic, mystical and possibly magical note into Lodovico's system for 'multiplication of places'. One is reminded of the sets of 'memory cubicles', all divided into places, in Robert Fludd's magic memory system; the places are to be memorised in an order proceeding from east to west, following the direction of

the sun.²³ Lodovico's 'towers' system, though strictly classical in its use of 'places', may also be verging on occult mnemonics.

The 'towers' system is interesting for the sense of moving through space in memory which it conveys. I have said in my book, when discussing the place rules in *Ad Herennium*, 'what strikes me most about them is the astonishing visual precision which they imply. In a classically trained memory the space between the *loci* can be measured . . .'.²⁴ Lodovico is extremely conscious, in his rules for places, of measuring the space in memory; and in the 'towers' system he envisages the eye moving up and down, outward and inward, left and right, along the places in memory, in a manner which almost implies that this inner eye sees the places in perspective.

Lodovico da Pirano's memory treatise is interesting not only in itself but because it displays the state of the art of memory at a most important hour in the history of culture, the contact between Western and Byzantine traditions through the theological *rapprochement* in the fifteenth century. The speeches in the meetings of the councils gave an opportunity for something like a revival of the ancient rhetorical tradition, and we have seen that in the case of Lodovico da Pirano the ancient mnemonic tradition was known and was being reformulated. If Lodovico used the mnemonic when making his speech at the Council of Bâle he was using a technique which had been known to Cicero. Whether or not my guesses about the possible influence of Graeco-Byzantine memory tradition on Lodovico will be confirmed, it is at least a fact that we see in Lodovico a man who is in contact with the new Greek scholarship and is using the ancient techniques of the art of memory.

He specialises in memory for words – the technique, almost like a kind of shorthand, which memorised words through sets of arbitrary symbols – and he does not mention the memory-for-things method, the mode of imprinting notions or ideas on memory through striking human images. This does not mean that he did not know that method; his knowledge of *Ad Herennium* and of the scholastic mnemonic descended from it shows that he must have known it. He could therefore, had he wished, have filled the places of his memory towers with strikingly beautiful or hideous images of virtues and vices, with galleries of improving mnemonic allegory.

And that he was aware of the imaginative possibilities of the

artificial memory is shown by his inclusion of *fictio* among his rules for places. The author of *Ad Herennium* taught that if the practitioner of artificial memory could not find enough 'real places' in his environment – actual houses, streets and so on to reflect in memory as memory places – he was allowed to invent 'fictitious places', imaginary buildings or backgrounds for his mnemonic technique to use.²⁵ In Lodovico this suggestion becomes a memory-place rule, *fictio*, that we may imagine palaces or temples as an exercise in memory.

The vast possibilities which this idea opened up for the development of romantic exercises in imaginary architecture, decorated with the images of memory, were thus available to Lodovico da Pirano and his rhetoric students. He opens a phase or a period in memory architecture which is contemporary with the spread of Greek studies in the early Renaissance.

The *ars memorativa* treatises and their curious techniques are as yet a comparatively unworked field of research which can yield material of interest from many points of view. They throw light on a forgotten social habit, once vitally important. In the ages before printing, memorising was an essential activity, and people sought eagerly for the arts which would help towards it. Though all *ars memorativa* treatises are based on the classical rules, which gives them a certain common denominator and a basic similarity, yet each treatise is worth looking into, for they all present variations, give different examples or suggest new light on the universal habit of forming memory places and memory images. The sociologist might learn much from them, for example from the 'hundred memory objects', or things familiar in everyday life, which Lodovico da Pirano, in common with many other writers of memory treatises, recommends as ready-made memory images. The art historian has certainly much to learn from them. It will therefore be useful to make studies of individual treatises such as I have attempted here, and to group them in accordance with their leading characteristics. In this way a quite new approach to the history of man's relation to his environment may be arrived at, and the despised genre of the memory treatise may take on a new importance.

And the effort of the memory artist to learn how to form images and signs through which to simplify the processes of memory was to lead in later ages towards the emergence of scientific methods of notation. Giordano Bruno, in his extraordinary arts of memory, shows knowledge of all the most involved techniques, such as

'multiplication of places', and in the seventeenth century Leibniz was still working within the memory tradition²⁶ as he moved towards his 'universal characteristic' or language of signs. The memory techniques and their influence on later methods form a subject which is only just emerging above the horizon as an important area of research. A prerequisite for advance in this direction is more adequate study of the *ars memorativa* treatise, its history, its variations, its techniques, its unending efforts to organise and make available the contents of memory.

NO MAN'S LAND*

RENAISSANCE PHILOSOPHY is something of a no-man's-land in the history of thought. Ancient philosophy, medieval philosophy, modern philosophy beginning from Descartes – all these stand as monuments in the landscape having recognisable shapes. But what is Renaissance philosophy? A rather vague area populated by elusive formulae such as 'humanism' and 'Neoplatonism'. One way of clarifying this situation is to recognise with Professor Kristeller that 'humanism' and 'humanist philosophy' should be separated from 'Renaissance philosophy' as a whole, as a distinct branch having different origins and a different history. The eight philosophers of his book, which is based on lectures given at Stanford University in 1961, are classified as humanist philosophers (Petrarch and Valla), Neoplatonists (Ficino and Pico), Aristotelian (Pomponazzi), and naturalists (Telesio, Patrizi, Bruno). The excellent and, I believe, quite original plan of starting a book on Renaissance philosophy with Petrarch and Valla enables Professor Kristeller to expound with admirable lucidity that interpretation of the meaning of the much abused term 'Renaissance humanism', of which he himself has laid the foundations by brilliant original research. I well remember the interest aroused by his article of 1944, since expanded, which put the word 'humanism' in a new perspective for Renaissance scholars, and which was

* Review of Paul Oskar Kristeller, *Eight Philosophers of the Italian Renaissance*, Stanford, 1964; published in *New York Review of Books*, 19 November 1964.

confirmed by Augusto Campana's examination of the meaning of the word *umanista* as actually used in the Italian Renaissance.

In his splendid studies of Petrarch and Valla in the present book Professor Kristeller puts across for the student and for the general reader what ought to be understood by Renaissance humanism and Renaissance humanist philosophy. The word *umanista* was university slang for the teacher of a definite branch of the curriculum, comprising grammar, rhetoric, poetry, history, and moral philosophy; and the humanist scholar was primarily the man who expanded these subjects by the recovery and study of the ancient texts on which they were based. Though not the initiator of Renaissance humanism, Petrarch was its first great representative, devoting his life as a scholar to the recovery of Latin antiquity, and his life as a literary man and a poet to meditation on the moral and politico-historical themes which his new approach to the ancients inspired. Professor Kristeller's discussion of Petrarch as the literary man, developing themes of self-analysis and moral reflection in a manner already characteristic of a modern humanist, is admirable. Valla carried to new heights the philological expertise of the humanist scholar in dealing with texts, and further expanded the humanist approach to moral philosophy. The chapter on Valla, particularly the part dealing with Valla's interpretation of Epicureanism, can be recommended, not only to students for whom this book is primarily intended, but also to more advanced scholars for its many original lights and suggestions.

Having laid the foundations of what he means by Renaissance humanism and humanist philosophy, Professor Kristeller turns in the chapters on Ficino and Pico to Renaissance Neoplatonism, and here he emphasises that the two movements, though they overlap and mutually influence one another, are not the same. He is reluctant to classify the movement stemming from Ficino as belonging to Renaissance humanism, the whole to be labelled indiscriminately 'the humanist philosophy of the Renaissance'. He points out that the Ficinian Platonism uses sources which are unrelated to the earlier humanism, not only the newly recovered works of Plato and the Neoplatonists but also the writings 'attributed to Hermes Trismegistus and Zoroaster, Orpheus and Pythagoras, which modern scholarship has recognised as apocryphal products of late antiquity, but which Ficino, like many of his predecessors and contemporaries, considered venerable witnesses of very old pagan philosophy and theology that preceded

and inspired Plato and his disciples.' Unlike the earlier humanists, too, Ficino does not turn away from medieval philosophy. For these and other reasons, Professor Kristeller thinks that the Neoplatonic movement begun by Ficino and carried on, with variations, by Pico della Mirandola forms a separate phase of the Renaissance which should be fairly sharply distinguished properly speaking from the more 'humanist' current.

The distinction may seem obvious and yet it needs to be stressed, for there is so much confusion of thought about these issues. I would indeed dig the trench separating humanism from Neoplatonism, with its Hermetic core, deeper than Professor Kristeller does. These two Renaissance experiences seem to me to be of an entirely different order, using different sources in a different way and making their appeal to different sides of the human mind. The one is scholarly and literary; the other is concerned with philosophy, including natural philosophy, which humanism excludes, and with theology and religion, which humanism does not presume to touch directly. The one sees man in relation to society; the other sees him in relation to the cosmos – two entirely different approaches to 'humanism' in the broader sense of the study of man. Professor Kristeller would link the concept of the dignity of man, so important for Ficino and developed by Pico with impassioned rhetoric in the famous Oration, with humanist meditations on man and his destiny and duties, seeing here one of the points of contact between the two movements. Yet the text '*magnum miraculum est homo*' with which Pico opens his Oration is not taken from a humanist source but from the Hermetic *Asclepius*. Man is a great miracle because of his position in the cosmos, allied by his nature to the 'race of demons' or cosmic powers, and hence able to operate on the world. It is man as the Magus, the operator, the Renaissance predecessor of man as scientist, which the Oration glorifies, and this 'great miracle' is not the same kind of creature as the man who forms the subject of the more modest meditations of the humanist.

Unlike his humanist predecessors, Ficino attempted to give an elaborate description of the universe, and a valuable analysis of the Ficinian cosmology is given in this chapter in which it is pointed out that Ficino was convinced that 'the universe must have a dynamic unity and that its various parts are held together by active forces and affinities. For this reason he revived the Neoplatonic doctrine of the world soul, and made astrology a part

of a natural system of mutual influences.' This might have been the point at which to mention that Ficino attempted to operate with astral magic, surely a significant feature of his philosophical outlook, but Professor Kristeller is not interested in this aspect, nor in Pico's Cabalism, so important for Pico himself, which he dismisses in a short paragraph as a side of Pico with which he is not in sympathy.

The selection of the eight philosophers brings out admirably the complexity of the Renaissance with its many different strands. From humanists and Neoplatonists, Professor Kristeller now passes to a typical product of the Paduan Aristotelian school, a splendidly clear and useful chapter this, containing also a polemic, with which I am heartily in agreement, against the tiresome practice of refusing to believe a 'bold' Renaissance writer when he states that he is a Christian. 'The human historian has no other basis but the written document.' If the written document, in this case Pomponazzi's *De fato*, states that although the immortality of the soul cannot be demonstrated by reason it is to be accepted as an article of faith, then what right have we to twist it as merely a safety device concealing an opposite opinion? The mania for detecting atheists everywhere can lead the historian of Renaissance thought as much astray as an over-pietistic approach. In fact the latter line is, in my opinion, more likely to err in the right direction.

Before coming to his three natural philosophers, Professor Kristeller emphasises the terrible historical conditions of the sixteenth century, ravaged by wars of religion and by fierce intolerance and persecution, the dark setting of the last phase of the Renaissance. The chapters on Telesio, Patrizi, and Bruno illustrate his theme that the philosophers of nature are to be considered as a group by themselves, essentially different from the humanists, Platonists, and Aristotelians discussed so far. They are to be distinguished by their attempts to formulate novel theories of nature and by their attacks on the authority of Aristotle. 'What separates them from the early modern scientists, and from the philosophers of the seventeenth century who took the new science as their premise, is their failure to find a firm and valid method of natural inquiry, and especially to understand the fundamental importance of mathematics for such a method.' No one could disagree with this, and the three naturalists bring the series to an end. Professor Kristeller has given us a very useful and lucid book which is sure to be popular both with students and with the general reader.

What one misses in the book is any discussion of the Hermetic influences on Renaissance thought. Since this is a subject about which Professor Kristeller has enormous knowledge and to which he has contributed by invaluable original research, the omission seems a pity. Eugenio Garin's epoch-making book *Medioevo e Rinascimento* (1954) has given rise in Italy to a new school of thought and research on these problems. 'In order to assess adequately', says Professor Garin, 'the magical theme at the dawn of modern culture, it must be realised that this motive, always present in the Middle Ages, passed (in the Renaissance) from the cultural subsoil into the light of day, assuming a new aspect under which it became common to all the great thinkers and scientists. All of them owed an impulse to it, in this as it were purified form, even when – and even above all when – like Leonardo they sharply condemned the inept cultivators of low-grade necromantic practices. To mention only the greatest, Marsilio Ficino dedicated to *magia* a conspicuous part of his *Libri de Vita*; Giovanni Pico wrote an eloquent and courageous apology for it; Giordano Bruno defined the *Magus* as the wise man who knows how to operate. . . . How much Francis Bacon owed to the magico-alchemical tradition is clearly shown in his way of thinking of science as power, an investigation which listens to the language of nature in order to dominate her.' The reformed, learned and philosophical magic of the Renaissance was the Renaissance equivalent of science, passing at times and in some thinkers into genuine science. It was the scientific basis of Renaissance philosophy. The naturalist philosophers are not entirely out of touch with their origins in the Ficinian magical and dynamic view of nature. And when the animist universe, operated by magic, transforms into the mathematical universe operated by mechanics, the seventeenth century has arrived.

If we admit with Professor Kristeller that humanism and humanist philosophy should be distinguished from Renaissance philosophy as a whole (though we must never forget that the two lines do overlap and particularly that there is one point, the recovery and editing by humanist scholars of the scientific works of antiquity, at which humanism performs an essential service to the line leading to the seventeenth century), and if we recognise with Professor Garin that there is a Hermetic core within Neoplatonism – a magico-scientific basis to that branch of Renaissance thinking – the mists begin to clear over the no man's land. Humanism is seen as developing differently from, and indeed in antagonism to,

the other line – an antagonism already present in Pico's famous letter to Ermolao Barbaro and which reaches a climax in Bruno's outcries against 'grammarian pedants'. And Renaissance Neoplatonism, which, when approached from the point of view of straight history of philosophy exhibits weaknesses and inconsistencies as a system of thought, gains in coherence when it is realised that it is a philosophy accompanying a magical view of the universe and of man's potentialities within the universe. Moreover, here is perhaps its link with the cultural manifestations of the times, for the cultivation of the imagination was a major preoccupation of Renaissance magic.

We all descend from Descartes and the seventeenth century, and surely someone ought to be able to tell us what the seventeenth century emerged from? Did it spring ready armed like Minerva out of nothing, as Professor Kristeller says some people think? Did it spring from medieval philosophy and science after their interruption by Renaissance humanism? Neither seems likely according to the normal rules of progression. There ought to be an immediate ancestor and it ought to be Renaissance philosophy. Perhaps we should look harder for the hidden springs of the movement which was to be so fateful, seeking them, not in humanism nor in a rather confused 'Neoplatonic' philosophy, but in the accompaniments of that philosophy, Hermetism, Cabalism, Lullism, Pythagorean numerology – that labyrinthine maze in which the late Renaissance seeks ever more feverishly for an operative 'method' – until Descartes emerged with a method that worked. Nature would now in due course be subdued, but man has only rarely recovered the stance from which he was once able to paint like Leonardo and write like Shakespeare.

LULL AND LULLISM*

RAMON LULL WAS a missionary, burning with zeal to convert Moslems and Jews to Christianity. Born about 1234 in Majorca, he began life as a courtly troubadour but was converted to a life of missionary effort by a vision in which, so he believed, the great Art which bears his name was revealed to him. He was to write hundreds of books about the Art and to propagate it with tireless energy until his death in 1316. The Art was based on religious conceptions common to all the three great religions; that God is good, great, wise, and so on. The Lullian Arts are all founded on such divine attributes or Names. And they were also based on scientific conceptions then universally accepted, on the structure of the cosmos as understood in the Middle Ages, and particularly on the four elements in their combinations. The two assumptions of the Art, the religious basis in the Divine Names or attributes and the cosmological and elemental basis, were fused in the enormously complicated workings of its figures, and Lull firmly believed that if only unbelievers would sit down with Christian Lullists – they can be seen sitting together in rows under Lullian trees in early illustrations – to work the Lullian figures, their conversion would infallibly follow.

Lull's missionary efforts were not as successful as he had hoped,

* Review of J. N. Hillgarth, *Ramon Lull and Lullism in Fourteenth-Century France*, Oxford, 1971 and Raymundus Lullus, *Quattuor libri principiorum*, reprinted with an introductory Note by R. D. F. Pring-Mill, Wakefield, 1969; published in *Times Literary Supplement*, 2 June 1972.

but his Art was to have an astounding future, if not always in its missionary aspect, yet in its encyclopedic aspect, as a scientific method which could be applied to all subjects because its logic was a natural logic, founded on reality. This encyclopedic aspect and universal application was not a development introduced by later followers; it was firmly embedded in Lull's own mind and expressed in his genuine works, in the forests of Lullian trees representing all subjects, rooted in the Divine Names or 'Dignities', their trunks representing the elemental chaos; or in the Lullian ladders rising through all creation to the celestial spheres, on each step of which the artist can perform the Art.

Lullism was forgotten in the nineteenth century, or derided as belonging to one of the disreputable pseudo-sciences. The first modern revival of interest in Lull began late in that century when he was admired as a Catalan poet and prose writer. This is the Lull who is reflected in E. Allison Peers's English biography of 1929, which dwells on Lull the poet and the writer of strange romances in which knights and hermits wander through woods; the Art is hardly mentioned in this book and the writer was unaware that the romances are all parables about the Art, which Lull constantly tried to popularise through attractive imagery. It is only in comparatively recent years that there has been an ever-increasing interest in the Art which, as now understood, was an attempt to build a method on the structure of the universe, and employed in this method geometrical figures and letter-notations. The appeal for the present day of research into such a method is obvious, and the history of Lullism is becoming an important field of study, and one which covers several historical periods. Beginning in the Middle Ages, Lullism continued in full force into the Renaissance, in which there was actually a renaissance of Lullism, and lasted into the early modern period as a still-surviving ancestor of new universal methods, such as those of Descartes and Leibniz.

The history of Lullism is a difficult subject, full of problems, and encumbered by too much material. Lull wrote so many books, which were disseminated in so many manuscripts; there are difficulties about his life and about the origin of his ideas. Much excellent work has been done by scholars abroad, but the vast subject of Lull, and of the history of Lullism, has been studied of late by only a few specialists in the English-speaking world.

This is why the book by J. N. Hillgarth is so welcome. It is a massive contribution to Lull studies by an English scholar who is fully conversant with continental Lull scholarship and which

makes an extremely important original contribution to the whole subject. It is difficult to put into a few words any idea of the learning which has gone into the making of this book. With its array of notes, and of appendices in Latin, it may at first sight seem daunting to the reader, but it is a book which will put Lull and Lullism on the map as themes central for the history of the European mind.

The author brings his detailed and accurate scholarship to bear on Lull's fascinating life and exciting times, and he examines the Lull manuscripts, their centres of production, their diffusion, in a manner altogether admirable in its precision and expertise. This book represents years of research in the libraries of Europe, the patient examination of hundreds of manuscripts, to lay a foundation on which future Lull studies can rest. As the author claims, against the background of the transmission of the manuscripts the isolated episodes, such as the Lullism of Cusanus, gain in meaning; and his combination of historical narrative with the history of manuscripts certainly provides an original and indispensable approach to the peculiar difficulties of the Lullian material.

To implement his missionary and unifying schemes, Lull needed to find a monarch to support them. He was attracted to the French Monarchy with its traditional religious imperialism, at that time being theorised anew by Pierre Dubois in connection with the aspirations of Philip IV (Philip the Fair). Hillgarth builds up most convincingly the importance for Lull of his close association with Paris, with both the court and the university. The study of fourteenth-century France in this book is valuable for the general historian, as well as for the Lull specialist; in particular, the destruction of the Templars is seen as part of a plan for unifying the military orders which was connected with the French king's ambitions. With the history proper, goes the history of the manuscripts, and it is shown that Lull's French disciple, Thomas Le Myésier, formed the first great collection of Lull manuscripts, and that Paris, not Majorca, was the centre whence Lullism was first diffused throughout Europe.

The study of Thomas Le Myésier, canon of Arras, of his patroness, Mahaut, Comtesse d'Arras, of his library (the list of the manuscripts he owned is printed in an appendix) forms a new and original contribution to the understanding of life and thought in fourteenth-century France, leading up to the study of Le Myésier as a Lullist. This is based on the imposing volume of selections from Lull's works, assembled by Le Myésier, interspersed with

introductions and commentaries by himself, and illustrated with a wonderfully illuminating circular figure. This great codex, known as the *Electorium*, was bequeathed by Le Myésier to the Sorbonne.

Those who have sat in the manuscript room at the Bibliothèque Nationale with the marvellous volume of Le Myésier's *Electorium* before them have had an unforgettable experience. The exquisite circular figure represents the spheres of the universe, from the earth up through the elemental spheres to the angelic sphere, shown in rich gold leaf, and beyond. Upon these spheres are inscribed the names of the 'Dignities' upon which the Art is based. Nothing could show more clearly than this figure that the Art has a cosmological basis. And as the pages of the great codex are turned, it is further realised that Le Myésier has arranged the works by Lull which he has chosen in an order which should lead the attentive reader into the heart of the Art. Hillgarth has provided a guide to the complex territory of the *Electorium*; he has identified the sources of all the quotations and he prints in Latin the explanation of the circular figure. Though he does not quite come to grips with the Art, he has performed an invaluable service to Lull studies by his extremely scholarly analysis of the contents of the vast codex arranged by one who had known Lull himself. Le Myésier also arranged two lesser Lullian volumes, a medium-sized one now lost, and a small one, the *Breviculum*, illustrated with miniatures and now at Karlsruhe. The miniatures of the *Breviculum* are reproduced by Hillgarth who uses them to illustrate the contents of the *Electorium*. One fascinating miniature shows Le Myésier presenting his large, medium, and small books to a queen of France, convincingly identified by Hillgarth as Jeanne de Bourgogne-Artois.

It was the early Lullism of Paris which first reached Italy. The library of Pier Leoni, a favourite doctor of Lorenzo de' Medici, contained Lullian manuscripts, one of which is a copy of part of Le Myésier's *Electorium*, which thus becomes of importance for the Italian Renaissance. Pico della Mirandola knew the Art of Lull, which he associated with the Cabala, and Lullist syncretism and universalism were to prove very congenial to many Renaissance thinkers and magi. The Parisian Lullist tradition was continued, with variations, by Lavinheta, who taught Lullism at the Sorbonne in the sixteenth century, and by Lefèvre d'Etaples. The last Lullist revival was in Germany in the early eighteenth century, when Ivo Salzinger brought out the great Mainz edition of Lull's

Latin works. Salzinger was directly inspired by Le Myésier's *Electorium*, of which he had a copy made. He associated Lull with Descartes in which, though mistaken, he was not eccentric, since it had not been uncommon in the seventeenth century to view the Cartesian method as a new kind of Lullism. It was probably through the Salzinger revival that knowledge of Lullism reached Leibniz who openly avowed his interest in the *Ars combinatoria*.

Thus Lullism was a method which absorbed generations of enthusiasts from the time of its first propagation by its author up to the eighteenth century. There is no doubt that it must be taken very seriously by historians of thought, and Hillgarth's book may well be the harbinger of an outbreak of Lull studies and of renewed efforts to understand the workings of the elusive Art.

Robert Pring-Mill, who has struggled long and valiantly with the Art in many articles, has written an introduction to the *Quattuor libri principiorum*, which is a reprint from the Mainz edition of four short works by Lull. The four books are on the principles of theology, of philosophy, of law, and of medicine. Lullian medicine, based on Lull's elemental theory adapted to graduated medicine, was fundamentally related to the structure of the Art as a whole. Lull claimed in the *Desconort*, the poem in which he lamented the lack of support for his missionary plans, that he had an Art which would work for law, for medicine and all science, and for theology, which he had most at heart. The reprint of the four books of 'principles' is thus a basic text for Lull studies, though the general reader is unlikely to see at once any connections between theology, philosophy, law, and medicine as here set forth. Pring-Mill argues that the number sixteen which Lull chose as the number of the 'Dignities', or basic principles, in the early form of the Art used in these books, was dictated by the necessity of relating them numerically to the four elements, each with four grades. He is almost certainly right, and there can be little doubt that the study of the procedures of Lullian medicine – an entirely abstract art – is fundamental for the study of the Art as a whole. This side of Lullism links it with the history of medicine. Thomas Le Myésier was a doctor of medicine, and so was Pier Leoni who carried his teaching into Italy.

Le Myésier's method of elucidating the Art through the choice of works by Lull arranged in a progressive order might perhaps be profitably employed in an English *Electorium*, or a selection of Lull's works translated into English. The anthology might begin with the circular figure and with an English translation of Le

Myésier's explanation of it. A translation of the *Liber chaos* might follow, a work which Le Myésier puts near the beginning of his series and which makes clear, perhaps better than any other work, the source of some of Lull's leading ideas in the *De divisione naturae* of John Scotus Erigena. To these might be added a translation of the *Liber de ascensu et descensu intellectus*, also chosen by Le Myésier as a fundamental introduction to the Art, which shows the artist moving up and down the ladder of being and operating the figures of the Art on each step. Such a collection, though obviously a *Breviculum* rather than an *Electorium magnum*, might form a helpful introduction to Lull studies. Le Myésier was right; one should not begin with the baffling Arts themselves; one should begin with works which can be used as introductions to the Art, as indications of the workings of Lull's mind.

In its curious way, the Lullian Art was indeed a kind of universal scientific method, working with letter notations and geometrical figures on what its author believed to be the divine structure of reality.

FLAVIUS MITHRIDATES*

ON GOOD FRIDAY, 1481, a sermon *De passione Domini* was preached before the Pope (Sixtus IV) and the Cardinals in the Vatican by the converted Jew who is best known by his pseudonym of Flavius Mithridates. This man was one of the learned Jews from whom Pico della Mirandola imbibed some of the vast knowledge which he displayed in the 900 theses which he propounded at the age of 26; amongst his Magical and Cabalistic Conclusions was the famous statement that 'Nulla est scientia, que nos magis certificet de diuinitate Christi, quam Magia & Cabala'. It is known that Flavius Mithridates instructed Pico in Hebrew, that he took part in discussions at Pico's house, and that he translated into Latin for Pico a number of Cabalistic treatises. One would therefore naturally suppose that the sermon preached by Mithridates five years before Pico came out with his 900 theses might throw light on how Pico's instructor taught him to prove the mysteries of the Faith from the mysteries of the Jewish Cabala. This sermon, now published for the first time by Chaim Wirszubski, with an excellent critical apparatus and introduction, turns out to be a great surprise.

The introduction shows that the arguments, supposedly from Hebrew *arcana*, brought forward in the sermon in support of the divinity and redemptive death of the Lord and of the mystery of

* Review of Flavius Mithridates, *Sermo de passione Domini*, edited and translated by Chaim Wirszubski, Jerusalem, 1963; published in *Journal of Theological Studies*, New Series XVI, 1965.

the Eucharist, are close quotations from the *Pugio Fidei* of Raymund Martini, a work of Christian apologetics against the Jews written by a Dominican in 1278. Numerous passages from the *Pugio Fidei* are quoted in the introduction for comparison with passages from the sermon, proving beyond a doubt that Mithridates is deriving his arguments, and even his Hebrew quotations, from the medieval work. Raymund Martini (or Ramon Martí in the Catalan version of the name of this Catalan writer) was taking part in the campaign of his Order against infidelity and heresy. In his attack on the Jews, for the *Pugio Fidei* is an attack rather than an appeal, he used his considerable Hebrew learning, quoting freely from Talmudic sources, to demonstrate to the Jews the truth of the Christian interpretation of Hebrew prophecy. Martini's work is entirely orthodox, quoting freely from the Fathers and from orthodox Catholic theologians; it is strongly influenced by the *Contra Gentiles* of Thomas Aquinas, from which, indeed, Martini has been accused of plagiarising. The Hebrew learning of its author is unusual for a thirteenth-century theologian, but in all other respects the work represents the normal Christian attitude to Old Testament exegesis.

The Pope and the Cardinals could therefore take no exception to the sermon of the converted Jew which told them what they were used to hearing, though invested in a mantle of profound Hebraic mysteries and secrets. For Mithridates nowhere mentions his source and evidently intends deliberately to create the impression that new sources of Hebrew wisdom are being revealed. In this he was successful, for a contemporary (Konrad Summenhardt) who refers to the sermon is under the impression that the preacher quotes in it 'ex illis quos hebrei libros cabale appellant'. Though Mithridates is basing himself on the *Pugio Fidei*, and not on Cabalist texts, there is nevertheless a change in tone in his sermon as compared with that of his thirteenth-century source, a change which Wirszubski characterises as a shift from refutation of Judaism to proof of Christianity, or a 'transition from the medieval *interpretatio Christiana* of Talmudic texts, perfected and systematized by Raymund Martini, to the Renaissance *interpretatio Christiana* of Kabbalistic doctrines, ushered in by Pico della Mirandola'.

Wirszubski raises the question of Mithridates' good faith. The *Pugio Fidei* was not a well-known work in the fifteenth century. Was Mithridates relying on his auditors' ignorance of Hebrew and Hebrew sources in thus investing a forgotten medieval work with

an aura of newly revealed Hebrew mysteries? Though there are indications that the character of Mithridates was not altogether irreproachable, one can think of a possible explanation of the sermon other than that of deliberate deception with a view to self-advancement. Was the sermon intended to be the thin end of a wedge? By carrying his audience through very familiar theological arguments in an atmosphere of Hebraic mysteries, was Mithridates preparing the way for the full blast of the revelation of Cabalist *arcana*, as justifying the Faith, which five years later was to burst upon the world in Pico's *Conclusiones Cabalisticæ*, for which Mithridates and his translations may have provided most of the material? It may be added that in preparing the way for the attachment of a new body of literature to a medieval Christian tradition (if this was the intention of the sermon), Mithridates would have been in line with a general Renaissance trend, as exemplified, for example, in the continuity of the Platonic tradition. As is well known, Ficino and Pico attach the newly recovered body of Platonic and Neoplatonic literature to the traditions of medieval Christian Platonism. This would be a parallel phenomenon to the merging of a medieval tradition of Christian use of Hebrew sources with Christian Cabala.

And in other ways the sermon prefigures the full Renaissance syncretism, for example in its use of Gentile prophecy. Mithridates is guided in his choice of Gentile prophecy by the *Divinae institutiones* of Lactantius in the true Renaissance manner, and he even touches on the testimony of pagan mythology, citing the 'Demogorgon', that strange fiction of Boccaccio's so beloved of Renaissance poets. He also draws in what he calls 'Chaldaean' evidence, and here Wirszubski has had the assistance of H. J. Polotsky who has identified Mithridates' quotations in 'Chaldaean' as sentences in Aramaic written in Ethiopic script. Since Mithridates was Pico's instructor in Chaldaean as well as in Hebrew, this is informative for what Pico may have learned from him.

It is most essential that first-class Hebrew scholars should lend their aid to the elucidation of Renaissance problems. The editor of Mithridates' sermon is in touch with G. G. Scholem, the great authority on Cabala; no more need be said as to his credentials. This unpretentious little volume of exact and reliable scholarship is of great importance for the student of Renaissance thought, and indeed for the history of religion. The momentousness of the impact of Pico della Mirandola's popularisation of Christian

Cabala on both Reformation and Counter Reformation has yet to be realised, and Flavius Mithridates is one of the key figures at the source of this movement.

By way of additional bibliography, it may be mentioned that probably the best account of the *Pugio Fidei* in its relationship to Dominican scholarship is given by T. and J. Carreras y Artau, *Historia de la filosofía española*, vol. I, Madrid, 1939, chapter iv. And, though Wirszubski makes use of the numerous articles by François Secret, this writer's book, *Les Kabbalistes chrétiens de la Renaissance*, was published in 1964, too late to be included in the bibliography. In the earlier chapters of this book, Secret covers some of the same ground as Wirszubski's introduction.

Though outside the exact scope of this study, it is interesting to recall that when the *editio princeps* of the *Pugio Fidei* appeared in 1651 it impressed Pascal, who used some of its evidence from prophecy in *Pensées*. Pascal certainly did not know of Mithridates' sermon, but returned independently to the thirteenth-century work for reassurance about the faith from Hebrew sources.

THE HISTORY OF HISTORY*

WHAT IS TRUE history? Why do we write or read history? The humanists of the Renaissance had a firm answer to these questions. 'True history' was history written in imitation of the classical historians, particularly Caesar, Sallust, and Livy, with carefully constructed battle scenes, long imaginary speeches put into the mouths of the historical characters. Its object was ethical: to learn from the 'examples' of historical characters how to avoid vice and follow virtue, how to lead a moral life. Factual accuracy, the use of documentary sources, the analysis of causal connections between events, all these things were subsidiary to the main aim of a 'true history', to teach ethics by 'examples'. When Sanudo wrote a fairly factual history of Venice he felt that he had to apologise for not following the humanist pattern; and when Bembo completed Sanudo's work it became a 'true history' in the humanist sense, a rhetorical exercise with moral intention. Sanudo's part of the history is now a valuable historical source, whereas Bembo's has little factual value. Nevertheless, the historical writing of the humanists, lifeless and empty though it may often seem as compared with the lively chronicles of the Middle Ages, with Froissart or with Joinville, marked a stage in the emergence of history, as we know it today.

* Review of Felix Gilbert, *Machiavelli and Guicciardini*, Princeton, 1965, and Francesco Guicciardini, *Maxims and Reflections of a Renaissance Statesman*, translated by Mario Domandi, with an Introduction by Nicolai Rubinstein, New York, 1965; published in *New York Review of Books*, 25 February 1965.

It is precisely with the emergence of history as we know it today that Professor Gilbert's important book is concerned. It is centred on Machiavelli and Guicciardini and is divided into two parts, the first concerned with politics, the second with history. It is Professor Gilbert's theme that the two were inseparable in the period. He analyses the intense thinking about politics and political institutions which accompanied the brief life of the Florentine republic, established after the fall of the Medici in 1494, and shows how the discussions of democrats and aristocrats under this regime passed into the political thinking of Machiavelli and Guicciardini. He shows too how, under the impact of this new thought about practical politics, the humanist type of history turned into political history, into the analysis of historical examples, drawing from them not general ethical teaching for the conduct of life, but practical advice for the conduct of politics. Machiavelli and Guicciardini were both humanists, both imbued with the importance of classical antiquity as the prime source of significant political and historical examples. But each in his way evolved entirely new types of political and historical thinking from the humanist tradition.

Instead of treating these two great figures in isolation, Professor Gilbert puts them into the context of their times, into the stream of political thinking and historical writing of which they were a part. He need not apologise for adding one more book to the vast literature on Machiavelli and less vast but certainly considerable literature on Guicciardini. His study is different in kind from those conventional biographies or analyses of the ideas of great writers which not infrequently do no more than reflect the 'images' of those writers built up by the vast literature about them. His book is the fruit of years of original research among Florentine archives and of careful thought about the problems of Renaissance politics and historiography. It should be widely read and used as the authoritative treatment of the subject by an expert.

Machiavelli and Guicciardini emerge in all their originality and power out of the carefully reconstructed context of their times. If, as Professor Gilbert shows, the typically Machiavellian themes, such as that of *virtù* – the active power in man which must inform a living society, and which can enable him to stand against the blind forces of Fortune – were already commonplaces in the discussions of Florentine republicans, Machiavelli, with imaginative genius, welded them into an original synthesis. The theories of mixed government entertained by the aristocratic party under the

republican regime may underlie Guicciardini's historical work, yet that work is the creation of a powerful mind. And the humanist insistence on history as a literary genre, demanding close imitation of classical forms, gave polish and style to a history writing that, far from being slavish imitation in content, was moving in entirely new and original directions – in fact towards the emergence of modern history. In his interesting analyses of Guicciardini's two histories of Florence, Professor Gilbert suggests that in the second work Guicciardini aimed to write a 'true history' in the humanist sense, but in fact produced something very different. He was writing as a historian aware of the importance of factual accuracy and the use of original documents, and seeking to trace causal connections between events. Professor Gilbert characterises Guicciardini's masterpiece, *The History of Italy*, as the last great classical and the first great modern history.

The emergence of modern history writing was definitely a humanist achievement, arising out of that re-organisation of rhetoric to include moral philosophy and history, as Professor Kristeller has pointed out. It belongs to Renaissance humanism in the true sense, as distinct from Renaissance philosophy and science. It is concerned with man in society, with the creative power of man to organise his social and political environment. Even when the hopes of the Florentine republicans were blighted by the Hapsburg subjugation of Italy, and Guicciardini, writing after the dread events of 1527, now sees man in history as the plaything of blind and inscrutable forces and the history of Italy as a tragedy, he can yet say that the lesson to be learned from history is that of the 'dignity of man' in the face of the disasters which overwhelm him.

Like all good books, Professor Gilbert's book sets trains of thought in motion in the reader's mind. The history of historical exemplarism might be pursued both backwards and forwards from the point, in the histories of the humanists, at which Professor Gilbert examines it. The use of *exempla* for moral teaching was, of course, a medieval practice, and collections of historical examples were compiled for the use of preachers. There is a sense in which Dante's Hell, populated with historical examples of the vices, might be seen as a medieval precursor of humanist 'true history'. Petrarch's imaginative cult of antiquity is infused with moral exemplarism, and such currents naturally passed from the earlier humanism into humanist history as a literary genre allied to moral philosophy. The fiercely realist approaches to politics and history of Machiavelli and Guicciardini are perhaps not en-

tirely emancipated from these traditions. After all, the Florentine republic had the blessing of Savonarola and its most zealous supporters were his disciples, and thus something of his fervour and austerity, of the passionate zeal of his preaching, may have passed into the new political and historical thinking, but turned in new directions. It is a weakness in Machiavelli's thought from a modern point of view that he excludes economics as a political and historical factor, and this is because he considers money an evil, and the pursuit of wealth a sin. One is reminded of the bonfire of worldly vanities made by the followers of Savonarola. Guicciardini thinks that ambition in the upper classes is a virtue – a reversal of old values but one which shows that he still has in mind the old virtue-vice schemes. In his penetrating discussion of Guicciardini's *History of Italy*, Professor Gilbert suggests that Guicciardini here sees the personalities of men, not as a definite sum of good and bad qualities, but as revealed in the sequence of events. There is surely something Shakespearean in such a view of man in history, a view in which the ethical overtones of humanist history are not entirely effaced but in which history becomes a tragedy, with man as the protagonist maintaining his dignity against the slings and arrows of outrageous fortune.

Florence was suited to be the home of history owing to the fact that the Florentine chancellery was particularly associated with the humanist movement and its interest in history, and owing also to the habit of her citizens of writing *ricordi*, diaries and facts of family history and reflections for the instruction of their descendants. Guicciardini was a practitioner of this Florentine private habit. It is therefore opportune that an English translation of Guicciardini's *Ricordi* (translated as *Maxims*), with an excellent Introduction by Nicolai Rubinstein, has been made available. Professor Rubinstein is well-known as an expert in the field of Florentine political history, and his Introduction is of the greatest interest. It is complementary in manner to Professor Gilbert's book, for Professor Rubinstein deals with Machiavelli and Guicciardini together and draws comparisons between them. He emphasises that Guicciardini owes more to the Florentine political tradition than to classical thought, that his history writing is strongly influenced by the factual character of Florentine *ricordi*, that he is, in general, less theoretical than Machiavelli and inclined to be critical of the latter's abstractions. He was also more pessimistic than Machiavelli, less of a believer in the power of *virtù*

to counteract Fortune, and though always rational in his approach to problems, not over-confident in the efficacy of reason.

The *Maxims*, translated by Mario Domandi in a style both incisive and lively, introduce us to the private thoughts of the Florentine statesman and historian. The intricacies of statecraftsmanship appear in the discussions as to whether it is better not to let an ambassador know the real intentions of his master, since if he does not know the truth he may more convincingly expound the lie which he has been told. Or the reflection that it is useful to seem good, but if one is not really good this tends to be found out; therefore it is perhaps advisable to be really good. A curiously circuitous way of arriving at honesty is the best policy. One cannot say that a frank or exactly lovable character emerges from these maxims. Their author regards the acquisition of friends solely from a utilitarian point of view; one never knows what a friend may do for one, therefore no opportunity of making a friend should be missed. At other times, the Florentine aristocrat, so well versed in the ways of the wicked world, will suddenly drop his cynicism and exclaim that good deeds done with no thought of self-interest are 'almost divine'. The historical pessimism which overtook Guicciardini after 1527, when the brief period of the application of Florentine genius to constructive political thinking had disastrously ended, was certainly the result of a profoundly felt experience:

All cities, all states, all regions are mortal. Everything, either by nature or by accident, ends at some time. And so a citizen who is living in the final stage of his country's existence should not feel as sorry for his country as he should for himself; but to be born at a time when such a disaster had to happen was his misfortune.

NOT A MACHIAVELLIAN*

BORN IN 1469 of an aristocratic but impoverished Florentine family, Niccolò Machiavelli saw in his youth the brilliance of Florence under the benevolent despotism of the Medici. He seems to have been unaffected by the Neoplatonic revival, for his formation was that of a purely Latin humanist, and the two passions of his life were for politics and history, inextricably mingled. When the Medici were expelled, the change to a republican government fostered such interests, for the intense political discussions which went on in liberated Florence drew constantly on examples from ancient history. Machiavelli gained his early political experience as a secretary to the Florentine republic; on the return of the Medici he was imprisoned and tortured, though soon released. He retired to his small estate where, in great poverty, he mused on what had happened, asking why the Romans had succeeded in building a great republic and empire whereas Florence and all Italy were going down into ruin. The result of these questionings was *The Prince* and the *Discourses* on Livy.

Describing in a letter his life at this time, Machiavelli says that he escapes from this hard world when he enters his study: there he puts on better garments to converse with ancient authors, and loses himself in delight. So might Petrarch have described the solace which he found among the classics. But there was a basic

* Review of Giuseppe Prezzolini, *Machiavelli*, translated by Gioconda Savini, New York, 1966; published in *New York Review of Books*, 15 June 1967.

difference between Machiavelli's approach to the ancient examples and that of Petrarch and the humanist historians. In the earlier humanist tradition, as in the Middle Ages, the stories about the great men of antiquity had been used as images of virtues and vices, teaching ethics by their examples. Machiavelli seeks to learn from them political counsels; he writes his commentaries on Livy, comparing ancient with modern events 'so that those who read what I have to say may the more easily draw those practical lessons which one should seek to obtain from the study of history.'

Machiavelli believed that history always repeats itself, and tried to draw up maxims for political conduct in given sets of circumstances in the past. It may be questioned whether he was as much a 'realist' as his great contemporary, Guicciardini, who dealt with each situation as a new problem, not soluble by rules, and who criticised Machiavelli's maxims. There is moreover a strong poetic and imaginative streak in Machiavelli, which is hardly consonant with pure realism. This streak comes out in one of his favourite themes, the *virtù* of the Roman people. He uses this word in a Latin sense, not translatable as 'virtue', to include confidence or morale, efficiency and strength of character, even the 'virtue' of loyalty when used for the Roman attitude to the state or the army. The Romans possessed *virtù* longer than any other people; hence they lasted longer and triumphed longer over fortune. Thus intangible elements enter into Machiavelli's view of history, and no very clear answer can be given to the question of what *virtù* is or how it is kept or lost, except that there is a connection between *virtù* and religion. The religion which Machiavelli most admires is Roman paganism because it subserved the state and contributed to maintaining the morale of the legionaries. This brings us to one of his main maxims: the authority of the state is maintained by force: the best mode of maintaining authority at home and developing it abroad is through an army, which must be formed of citizens of the country, not of mercenary troops. Rome, of course, serves as the great example, and the formation of a citizen army for the defence of Florence was one of Machiavelli's dearest projects (though not his invention).

Reviving an argument used in the days of the barbarian invasions, Machiavelli thinks that Christianity weakens *virtù*. His attitude to Christianity is, however, complex. To understand it we must take into account the examples which he saw before him in contemporary Italy, the papacy in its most corrupt phases just

before the Reformation. It is the papacy, he thinks, which is a prime cause of the weakness of Italy and of the decay of religion in Italy, which in turn has weakened *virtù*. Northern provinces have kept a purer religion because they are farther from the corrupt centre. Such remarks have suggested to some that Machiavelli was a political version of Luther; this comparison will not really work but that it could have been made at all shows how complex is the question of Machiavelli's attitude to religion.

He was a great reader of Dante, and one should not study his politics without taking a look at those of his fellow Florentine. Dante believed that the Roman people had been chosen by God, because of their virtue (in the normal sense of the word), to be the state which prepared the way for the coming of Christ, who was born in the reign of Augustus. He believed that the divine mission of the Roman empire was continued in the medieval successors to the imperial title, and he called upon the contemporary Emperor to come as a saviour to Italy to reform the corruptions of the Church. It was precisely visionary politics of this kind which Machiavelli set out to attack: the visionary imperialism of the Dantesque type was, he thought, a cause of Italy's weakness because it encouraged her to appeal to foreigners and foreign armies rather than strengthening her own *virtù*. Though Dantesque politics are thus the antithesis of those of Machiavelli, yet something of the old belief in the religious mission of the Romans enters into Machiavelli's admiration of their great example.

One reason, according to Machiavelli, that the Florentine republic was lost was that Piero Soderini was too honest and good a man to take certain steps. This example brings us to the great Machiavellian crux, that dishonest or even criminal action cannot be excluded from the conduct of politics. Take another example. Romulus murdered Remus (Machiavelli does not distinguish between real and mythical history). It is characteristic of Machiavelli's honesty that he insists that Romulus was supposed to have done away with Remus. And it is also characteristic that, having emphasised that it was murder, he also insists that Romulus was justified, since Rome had to be under one ruler. The necessity for one ruler was actually one of the mystical Dantesque arguments; Machiavelli will not disguise the reality of the seizure of power by one.

In *The Prince*, a new prince is out to seize power and Machiavelli describes the stratagems which he employs, such as ways of

evading treaty obligations, and the liquidation of opponents who might be dangerous. He advises that the prince should always give religious reasons for his actions, masking the reality of violence on which his power is based in fair seeming words. Machiavelli cites, as the modern example of a successful new prince, Cesare Borgia, who carved out a dominion for himself by unscrupulous methods. Controversy has raged around *The Prince*. Had Machiavelli ever hoped that some new prince, beginning with the Romulus technique, would restore Italy to the rule of one and so revive her *virtù*? The last chapter of the book calls passionately for a 'saviour' in an almost Dantesque style. Those who have wished to see Machiavelli as a cynic have to get rid of that last chapter as an irrelevance. But it is led up to by what goes before and was evidently intended as the last word to the book.

In the *Discourses*, a more important work for his political theory than *The Prince*, Machiavelli is concerned with republican theory and practice. He was himself a republican, believed in popular government, and hated tyrants. There seems to be contradiction between this attitude and his apparently complacent account of the methods by which a prince seizes power. We have to remember that Machiavelli's thinking was closely conditioned by Roman history in which a republic turned, via Caesar, into a principate and an empire. He has to analyse both types of Roman political examples, leaving his own attitude in some obscurity. It is, in fact, one of the chief problems confronting the student of Machiavelli that no coherent system can be drawn from his works. They are full of contradictions; he was not a systematic thinker, though later commentators have tried to systematise him. Certainly no clear-cut system of political amorality can be drawn from him. When speaking of settled governments, he gives to rulers quite opposite advice to the counsels in *The Prince*, arguing that it does not pay to make enemies by cruelty and putting forward as the right examples the good and humane characters among the Roman emperors. Sometimes he will say that all men are evil and must be restrained by force; at other times he speaks of the 'good' Romans. Machiavelli never calls evil good, nor vice virtue. He recognises and accepts the normal morality. But he does say sometimes (not always) that the politician, in order to be successful, must be prepared not to be good, must be ready to perpetrate fraud and even crimes. It is with sorrow that he states this, and he advises the man who wishes to keep his conscience pure not to meddle with politics nor aspire to seize power.

The reaction of the Elizabethan dramatists against the 'wicked Machiavel' is understandable. Particularly in England, where the idea of the Monarch as God's representative on earth was being raised to even greater heights, the contrast between the idea of the prince as the divine fount of wisdom and virtue and the Machiavellian *Prince* must have seemed devastating. At the heart of Shakespeare's meditations on monarchy there lies tension between the prince as an example of virtue and vicious distortions of that example. Machiavelli had taught Shakespeare's generation to face realities about the nature of power, resulting in an extension of moral consciousness in the political sphere, rather than the reverse, a more subtle and profound analysis of historical examples than the old rigid exemplarism could afford.

Machiavelli died in 1527, the year of the sack of Rome by the armies of the Emperor Charles V, which marked the end of the independence of Italy, the end of the Renaissance in the land of its birth. Machiavelli's statecraft can be seen as the last attempt by humanism at the defence of Italy from the barbarian invasions. Retreating into the study to learn political skills from historical examples was a scholar's way of meeting a situation which, as Machiavelli knew full well, demanded force and *virtù*. But this late effort of the humanist spirit laid the foundations of a new science, the science of political theory.

Since the Second World War, a large volume of scholarship has transformed our knowledge of those aspects of the Renaissance out of which Machiavelli came. The intensive development of history as a branch of rhetoric by the humanists, resulting in a mass of history writing in imitation of historical models, is a movement whose outlines are now becoming clearer. The origins of the transition from rhetorical history, with its strong exemplarist tinge, to the realist approach of Machiavelli and Guicciardini are to be found in the political history of Florence during the period, in the discussions of real political problems by men imbued with the Florentine critical spirit and deeply versed in the traditions of Latin humanism, of which Florence had been one of the main centres. The late Delio Cantimori's studies of Florentine civic and political thinking, and the work on Florentine documentary sources done by Felix Gilbert and Nicolai Rubinstein, have shown how many of Machiavelli's themes (including *virtù*) were commonplaces in the discussions which went on constantly in Florence. This does not diminish Machiavelli's originality, nor his status as the first to give literary expression to a new approach

to politics and history. But it should ultimately dethrone all the fictional Machiavellis of the past, not only the 'wicked Machiavel' but also the Machiavellis over-systematised by much later philosophies and theories of political science. We now know that the true Machiavelli was the political humanist.

Fictional Machiavellis, however, are not yet dead, for Giuseppe Prezzolini presents one in the book under review. Ignoring most post-war scholarship, Prezzolini sees Machiavelli as anti-Christian and atheistical, believing in nothing save amoral political force, the realities of which are masked from the simple-minded. He wishes to open our eyes to the realisation that Machiavelli is 'our contemporary'. Among his reasons for this identification are the following. The modern state encourages all religious denominations while believing in none of them. It is based on amoral force as the root of political power; even 'the draft' is fathered by Machiavelli for it is the modern counterpart of his citizen army. These curious parallels seem to have little to do with the genuine Machiavelli, but are based on something like the old lay figure of the atheist and cynic. About half of the book is concerned with a survey of Machiavelli's influence, covering all periods and all countries, arranged under headings such as Machiavelli in England, France, Spain, Germany, Italy, Russia, America. Wide reading has gone into the collection of this material, and much of it, particularly the quotations, is extremely interesting. As the author says, there is no modern book on Machiavelli's influence as a whole; he has attempted to provide such a book on a popular level. Reading it one gains a very strong impression of the immense, indeed vital, importance which such a survey might have. The index to this book could provide a rough guide to the writers and personalities who are significant for this history, and there are attempts at dealing with transformations of Machiavelli's thought, by, for example, German philosophers, or in the Italian Risorgimento. But his breaking up the themes into more or less disconnected sections makes for incoherence; and some extremely serious issues are evaded. For example, there is only one mention of Mussolini. Above all, the writer's own brand of superficial Machiavellianism precludes his making a serious approach to the moral issues.

As a corrective to Prezzolini, American readers could refer to the chapter on Machiavelli in Sheldon Wolin's *Politics and Vision* (1960) which is fully sensitive to the tragedy of Machiavelli's vision

of violence, and rightly presents his effort to create a science of politics as, basically, a moral effort toward enlarging man's control of political forces and directing them into beneficent and constructive channels. As Machiavelli's last word on the prince, I quote the following from the *Discourses*:

To reconstitute political force in a state presupposes a good man, whereas to have recourse to violence in order to make oneself a prince in a republic presupposes a bad man. Hence very rarely will there be found a good man ready to use bad methods in order to make himself prince, though with a good end in view, nor yet a bad man who, having become a prince, is ready to do the right thing and to whose mind it will occur to use well that authority which he has acquired by bad means.

Machiavelli was not an amoralist; to read him is not to enter a grey mental climate where ethics dissolve in philosophies of power, but to become more sharply aware of the problem of evil in relation to political force.

GIORDANO BRUNO

BIOGRAPHY*

GIORDANO BRUNO (1548–1600), the most famous of the Italian philosophers of the Renaissance, was born at Nola, near Naples. At an early age he entered the Dominican order and became an inmate of the Dominican convent in Naples. In 1576 he was accused of heresy and fled, abandoning the Dominican habit. Thereafter he wandered through Europe. After visiting Geneva, and lecturing on the *Tractatus de sphaera mundi* of Sacrobosco at Toulouse, Bruno reached Paris in 1581. Here he gave public lectures which attracted the attention of King Henri III, and published two books on the art of memory which reveal him as greatly influenced by that textbook of Renaissance magic, the *De occulta philosophia* of Henry Cornelius Agrippa, from which he quotes lists of magic images of the stars, incantations, and other occult procedures. Bruno as a Renaissance magus, in line of descent from the learned philosophical magic inaugurated by Marsilio Ficino, is already present in these books. The title of one of them, *De umbris idearum* ('Shadows of Ideas'), is taken from the necromantic commentary on the *Sphere* of Sacrobosco by Cecco d'Ascoli, whom Bruno mentions admiringly in other works. It may be inferred that the lectures at Toulouse were probably based on this commentary.

* Published in *Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, ed. Paul Edwards, vol. I, New York, 1967.

Early in 1583 Bruno went to England with letters of recommendation from Henri III to the French ambassador in London. He lived in the French embassy during the two years he spent in England, and the ambassador protected him from the tumults aroused by his writings, which were clandestinely printed in London. These included the *Triginta sigilli* ('Thirty Seals'), an extremely obscure work on his magic art of memory; those who manage to reach the end of it find an advocacy of a new religion based on love, art, magic, and mathesis. It is dedicated to the vice-chancellor and doctors of the University of Oxford in high-sounding terms in which Bruno announces himself as 'the waker of sleeping souls, tamer of presumptuous and recalcitrant ignorance, proclaimer of a general philanthropy'.

In June 1583 the Polish prince Albert Alasco (Laski) visited Oxford and was entertained with public disputations. Bruno was in his train, and, according to a recently discovered account by George Abbot, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury, Bruno returned to Oxford after the party had left and delivered, uninvited, lectures which were largely a repetition of Marsilio Ficino's work on astral magic, the *De vita coelitus comparanda* ('On Drawing Down the Life of Heaven'), although he also maintained Copernicus' opinion 'that the earth did go round and the heavens did stand still'. Abbot says that Bruno was induced to discontinue the lectures when the plagiarism from Ficino was pointed out to him.

While in England, Bruno published five dialogues in Italian. In *La cena de le ceneri* ('The Ash Wednesday Supper', 1584) he defends his version of the Copernican theory against Oxford 'pedants', a reflection of his visit to Oxford. In *De la causa, principio e uno* (1584) he apologises for the storms aroused by his attack on Oxford, but makes matters worse by defending the friars of pre-Reformation Oxford, whom he prefers to their Protestant successors. The *De l'infinito, universo e mondi* (1584) is an exposition of his vision of an infinite universe and innumerable worlds. The *Spaccio de la bestia trionfante* ('The Expulsion of the Triumphant Beast', 1584) envisages a universal moral and religious reform and is dedicated to Sir Philip Sidney. The *Cabala del Cavallo Pegaseo* ('Cabala of the Horse Pegasus', 1585) indicates Bruno's adaptation of the Jewish cabala. The *De gli eroici furori* ('On Heroic Enthusiasms', 1585), also dedicated to Sidney, is in the form of a sonnet sequence with commentaries expounding the philosophical and mystical meanings of the poems. It is upon this series of most striking and brilliant works, in which Bruno appears as the propa-

gator of a new philosophy and cosmology, a new ethic and religion, that his fame largely rests. They are all full of Hermetic influences and are bound up with a complex religious, or politico-religious, mission for which Bruno believed he had the support of Henri III, and which cannot have been uncongenial to the French ambassador, Michel de Castelnau de Mauvissière, to whom three of the books are dedicated. Sidney's reactions to Bruno are unknown.

Late in 1585 Bruno returned to Paris, where he delivered an address on his philosophy in the Collège de Cambrai, arousing strong opposition, and where he had a curious controversy with Fabrizio Mordente about the compass which Mordente had invented. Paris was in a disturbed state, on the eve of the wars of the League, and Bruno's activities added to the 'tumults', from which he fled in 1586 and began his travels through Germany. He was favourably received at the University of Wittenberg, and during his stay there he wrote a number of works, particularly on the Art of Ramón Lull, to which he attached great importance and which he believed he understood better than Lull himself. From Wittenberg he went to Prague, where he tried to obtain the favour of Emperor Rudolph II with his *Articuli adversus mathematicus* (1588), in which he states that he is strongly against mathematics, which he regarded as a 'pedantry' lacking in deep magical insight into nature. His objection to Copernicus as a 'mere mathematician' had been on similar lines. The work is illustrated with magical diagrams, representing what he called his mathesis, and its preface outlines a movement of tolerance and general philanthropy which is to replace sectarian bitterness. He next spent some time at Helmstedt, where he enjoyed the favour of the reigning duke, Henry Julius of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel, and made a speech in praise of the late duke in which he outlined his programme of moral reform in language similar to that used in the *Spaccio de la bestia trionfante*. It was probably while at Helmstedt that Bruno wrote the *De magia* and other works on magic unpublished in his lifetime.

With the money Henry Julius gave him for the oration, Bruno went to Frankfurt to have printed the Latin poems he had written during his wanderings. These were the *De innumerabilibus, immenso et infigurabili*, the *De triplici minimo et mensura*, and the *De monade numero et figura*, all of which were printed by John Wechel in 1591. In these Latin poems, written in a style imitating Lucretius, Bruno expresses his philosophical and cosmological

speculations in their final form. Like the Italian dialogues on these themes, the Latin poems are full of Hermetic influences, particularly of the mathesis, or magical numerology, which Bruno had been further developing during his travels. He also published the last of his books on his magical arts of memory at Frankfurt.

Trial and death

In August 1591, Bruno returned to Italy at the invitation of a Venetian nobleman who wished to learn the secrets of his art of memory. There can be little doubt that Bruno was encouraged to take this step by the hopes of greater religious toleration aroused by the conversion of Henri IV of France. Bruno had in his baggage the manuscript of a book he intended to dedicate to Pope Clement VIII. It is strange that one who had stated in his published works that Christ was a magus and that the magical religion of the Egyptians was better than Christianity should have felt that he could place himself with impunity within reach of the Inquisition. Bruno seems, however, always to have sincerely believed that his religious and moral reform could take place within a Catholic framework. He was arrested in Venice and thrown into the prisons of the Inquisition. At the end of the Venetian trial he recanted his heresies, but was sent to Rome for another trial. Here he remained in prison for eight years, at the end of which he was sentenced as a heretic (having refused, this time, to recant) and was burned alive on the Campo de' Fiori.

Although the actual *processo* stating on what grounds he was condemned is not extant, it seems most probable that Bruno was burned as a magician, as an 'Egyptian' who had been propagating throughout Europe some movement the nature of which remains mysterious, although it may well be connected with the origins of Rosicrucianism and of Freemasonry. His philosophical views in themselves can have had little to do with the condemnation, unless in so far as they, too, were associated with the movement.

Later interpretations

In the seventeenth century there was a conspiracy of silence about Bruno and his reputation. Where the silence was broken, he usually appeared in the character of a diabolical magician. It was

rumoured that he had made a speech in praise of the devil at Wittenberg (Bayle and Leibniz heard this story). In the eighteenth century he was interpreted by Toland as a deist. The nineteenth century rediscovered Bruno and read its own beliefs and attitudes into his works. It was then that he appeared as the martyr for modern science and the Copernican theory, and statues were erected in his honour by anticlericals in Italy. The crudity of this approach was modified in later philosophical studies of Bruno, but the attempt to isolate a philosophy or a metaphysics from his works and to discuss his thought in a context of straight history of philosophy meant that large areas in his writings must be disregarded as unimportant or unintelligible. Moreover, no coherent philosophical system could be extracted in this way, as Olschki saw when he criticised Bruno as a confused thinker. But when Bruno is placed in the context of the Renaissance Hermetic tradition, his philosophy, his magic, and his religion can all be seen as forming part of an outlook on nature and on man which, however strange, is nevertheless perfectly coherent within its own premises.

Hermetic philosophy

The extraordinary prestige of the *Hermetica* in the Renaissance was encouraged by the belief that they were the writings of Hermes Trismegistus, an Egyptian sage who foretold Christianity and whose wisdom had inspired Plato and the Platonists. The Hermetic core in Renaissance Neoplatonism was an important factor in the revival of magic. Christian magi, like Ficino and Pico della Mirandola, used some caution in their approach to the magical passages in the Hermetic *Asclepius*, which is the basis of the astral magic described by Ficino in his *De vita coelitus comparanda*. These safeguards were largely abandoned by the magician Cornelius Agrippa and totally abandoned by Bruno, who adopted the position that the Hermetic magical religion was the true religion, the religion of nature in contact with its powers. The cure for the wars, persecutions, and miseries of contemporary Europe was a return to the magical religion of the Egyptians – hence the long quotations in the *Spaccio de la bestia trionfante* from the passages in the *Asclepius* describing the religious practices of the Hermetic pseudo-Egyptians, ecstatically interpreted by Bruno as their worship of ‘God in things’, and as a ‘profound

magic' by which they were able to draw down cosmic powers into the statues of their gods. The lament for the Egyptian religion in the *Asclepius* was interpreted by Bruno as a lament for a better religion, destroyed by Christianity. Since Augustine had condemned these passages as referring to the wicked demon worship of the Egyptians, it is easy to see how Bruno's 'demonic' reputation arose. Bruno's 'Egyptian' religion included belief in metempsychosis, which he also derived from the Hermetic writings.

Bruno's views on religion are organically related to his philosophy, for the philosophy of the living earth moving round the divine sun and of the innumerable worlds, moving like great animals with a life of their own in the infinite universe, is the animist philosophy of a magus who believes he can establish contact with the divine life of nature. The sun is frequently mentioned in the Hermetic writings as a god, and it is the chief of the astral gods worshipped in the religion described in the *Asclepius*. Ficino's use of the astral magic of the *Asclepius* was chiefly directed towards the sun, whose beneficent influences he sought to draw through solar talismans and incantations.

Bruno's Copernicanism

That Bruno thought of the Copernican sun in the context of the magic of Ficino's *De vita coelitus comparanda* is indicated in the report of his lectures at Oxford, in which he is said to have repeated the Ficinian text while also maintaining the opinion of Copernicus. This report fits in with passages in Bruno's works in which the sun appears in a magical context, and particularly with his defence of the Copernican opinion against the Oxford doctors in *La cena de le ceneri*, where he describes Copernicus as 'only a mathematician' who has not seen the true meaning of his discovery as he, Bruno, has seen it. When a speaker in these dialogues asks what is the cause of the earth's movement round the sun, the reply is an almost verbatim quotation from *Corpus Hermeticum* XII, in which Hermes Trismegistus explains that the energy of life is movement and that therefore nothing in the living universe is immobile, not even the earth. Bruno applied these words as an explanation of the cause of the earth's movement round the sun. The Copernican opinion had, for him, confirmed the 'Egyptian' philosophy of universal animation. He also repeated from the

same Hermetic treatise one of his most characteristic doctrines: that there is no death in nature, only change.

Thus Bruno's acceptance of Copernican heliocentricity did not rest on Copernicus' mathematical arguments. On the contrary, Copernicus as a mere mathematician was despised by him as a superficial person who had not understood the true meaning of his discovery. Bruno was always 'against' mathematics. Although he had some acquaintance with the scientific basis of the Copernican theory, it was not on mathematical grounds that Bruno defended Copernicanism from reactionary Aristotelians, but on animist and magical grounds. In fact, when the passages on the sun in the different works are compared, it becomes apparent that Copernican heliocentricity was for Bruno a kind of celestial portent of the approaching return of 'Egyptian' philosophy and religion. 'Aristotelianism' was for Bruno a symbol of all that is dead and dry – or, as he would say, 'pedantic' – in philosophy and religion (the two were for him inseparable), compared with his own philosophy and religion – in contact, so he believed, with living, divine nature.

New vision of the universe

The essence of the Hermetic writings is that they give a religious impulse towards the world. It is within the setting of the universe, not through any divine mediator, that the Hermetic gnostic achieves his religious experience. The closest parallel to Bruno's imaginative leap upward through the spheres is the description in the Hermetic *Pimander* of how man 'leant across the armature of the spheres, having broken through their envelopes'. So did Bruno break through the spheres in his ecstatic ascent to his new vision of the universe. The immediate source of his vision of infinite space and innumerable inhabited worlds was Lucretius' poem *De rerum natura*, but Bruno transformed the Epicurean and Lucretian notions by imparting animation to the innumerable worlds – a feature totally absent from Lucretius' universe – and by imparting the function of being an image of the infinite divinity to the infinite. The godless universe of Lucretius turns in the Brunian vision into a vast extension of Hermetic gnosis; in order to receive this within himself, man, that 'great miracle', as he is defined in the *Asclepius*, must expand himself infinitely. The *magnum miraculum est homo* passage is quoted from Trismegistus near the

beginning of the *De Immenso* as a preliminary to the new vision of the world to be revealed in the poem.

This infinitely extended All was nevertheless One. The unity of the All in the One is a basic theme of the Hermetic writings and also of Bruno's. The unity of the All in the One is for Bruno 'a most solid foundation for the truths and secrets of nature. For you must know that it is by one and the same ladder that nature descends to the production of things and the intellect ascends to the knowledge of them; and that the one and the other proceeds from unity and returns to unity' (*De la causa, principio e uno*, in *Dialoghi italiani*, ed. Giovanni Aquilecchia, p. 329).

This is the philosophy conducive to magic – that the magus can depend on the ladders of occult sympathies running through all nature. When this philosophy is not only a magic but also a religion, it becomes the religion of the Hermetic pseudo-Egyptians who, as Bruno says in the *Spaccio de la bestia trionfante*, 'with magic and divine rites . . . ascended to the height of the divinity by that same scale of nature by which the divinity descends to the smallest things by the communication of itself' (*Dialoghi italiani*, p. 777). Bruno's philosophy and religion are one and the same, and both are Hermetic. This accounts for the main aspects of his philosophy, his panpsychism and his monism, and also for the magic and the references to magical practices with which his books are filled.

Like all Renaissance magi, Bruno was a syncretist and drew from his vast reading many philosophies which had accreted to the Hermetic core. The pre-Socratics, Plato and the Platonists, the Scholastics (Bruno revered Thomas Aquinas as a great magus), Nicholas of Cusa – all were incorporated into the central theme. Bruno's chief textbook of magic was Agrippa's *De occulta philosophia*; he also used the conjuring books of Trithemius and admired, and perhaps practised, the Paracelsian medicine.

Art of memory

The side of Bruno's work which he regarded as the most important was the intensive training of the imagination in his occult arts of memory. In this he was continuing a Renaissance tradition which also had its roots in the Hermetic revival, for the religious experience of the Hermetic gnostic consisted in reflecting the universe within his own mind or memory. The Hermeticist believed

himself capable of this achievement because he believed that man's *mens* is in itself divine and therefore able to reflect the divine mind behind the universe. In Bruno, the cultivation of world-reflecting magic memory becomes the technique for achieving the personality of a magus, and of one who believes himself to be the leader of a religious movement. Strange though these beliefs and practices are, Bruno had some profound things to say in his books on memory concerning the imagination, which he made the sole cognitive power (sweeping away the divisions of the Aristotelian faculty psychology by a kind of inner anti-Aristotelianism), and on the mental image in relation to the psychology of the 'inspired' personality. When the magical aspect (which includes such practices as the use of talismans or images of the stars as mental images) is discounted or allowed for, Bruno's bold explorations of the inner world may become important to the historian of psychology.

Significance and influence

The emphasis on the Hermetic and magical side of Bruno's thinking does not discredit his significant contribution to the history of thought. He exemplifies the Hermetic religious impulse as a motive force behind the imaginative formulation of new cosmologies. From within his own frame of reference, this highly gifted man made guesses which may have given hints to seventeenth-century thinkers. A notable example is his transformation of the Democritean atoms, of which he read in Lucretius, into magically animated monads; this may well have been a stage leading to Leibniz's monadology, and there are other curious links between Bruno and Leibniz. Although Bruno was obviously not in the line leading to the mathematical advances, his extraordinary vision of an immensely expanded universe, ruled by the laws of magical animism, may be said to prefigure, on the Hermetic plane, the new cosmology of the seventeenth century. Drained of its animism, with the laws of inertia and gravity substituted for the psychic life of nature as the principle of movement, Bruno's universe would turn into something like the universe of Isaac Newton, moving under laws placed in it by a God who is not a magician but a mathematician and a mechanic. In the Hermetic phase of European thought, which was the immediate prelude to the seventeenth-century revolution, Bruno is an outstanding figure. Regarding him in this light, the old legend of the martyrdom

of the advanced thinker becomes almost true again, although not in the old sense.

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GIORDANO BRUNO: SOME NEW DOCUMENTS*

The new documents on Giordano Bruno with which this article is concerned do not come from the Vatican archives, which have been so successfully, and in all probability exhaustively, explored in recent years for light on the trial.¹ Perhaps, indeed, 'document' is rather too forbidding a word to use of the informal and friendly references to Bruno in the letters of Jacopo Corbinelli to Gian Vincenzo Pinelli.

The collection of letters written by Corbinelli from Paris to Pinelli at Padua between the years 1566 and 1587 has long been well known to scholars. Corbinelli was one of those Italian exiles who looked to the French court for political leadership and financial support. Henri III employed him in various capacities, and he was perhaps on more intimate terms with that monarch than any other Italian. An accomplished scholar, a wise and objective observer of men and affairs, a passionate collector and reader of books of all kinds, Corbinelli was just the man for Pinelli, who employed him to send him reports of political and literary news from Paris, and to procure him books and manuscripts for the magnificent library which he was forming at Padua.² Pinelli died in 1601 and his collections were partially dispersed; what remained of them was bought by Cardinal Federico Borromeo, founder of the Ambrosiana; hence the presence of the Corbinelli letters in that library.³

Several scholars have sunk shafts into the rich mine of the Corbinelli-Pinelli correspondence, attacking it from various angles. Rajna drew out of it one of the most sensitive and reliable

* Published in *Revue internationale de la philosophie*, XVI, 1951.

accounts of the Massacre of St Bartholomew that we possess.⁴ Crescini used it to throw light on Provençal studies in the sixteenth century.⁵ Rita Calderini De-Marchi made valuable attempts, interrupted by her early death, at elucidating Corbinelli's relations with French *érudits* and his knowledge of Greek literature.⁶ Yet no one seems to have noticed the Bruno references in the correspondence, nor followed up the clue left by the last-named writer when she mentions that 'Nolano' and 'Giordano', whom she takes to be two different people, were amongst the opponents of Aristotelian philosophy in Paris in 1586.⁷

Corbinelli's remarks, tantalisingly brief and slight though they are, give us a glimpse of Bruno's life in Paris in 1586 from a new angle. Except for the curious revelation about Fabrizio Mordente's reactions to Bruno's admiration of him, they do not add very much, factually, to what we already know from his own publications and from Cotin's diary about the Nolan's interests and activities during this year in Paris. But we can assume from these letters that Bruno must have been on fairly good terms with Corbinelli, and that the latter – and perhaps his whole circle – should be included amongst those unnamed '*signori chi'io conoscevo*'⁸ with whom the philosopher told the Venetian inquisitors that he passed his time in Paris during his second stay there, after his visit to England. This would fit in well with the dedication of one of the books which Bruno published during this year. Corbinelli's intimate friend – mentioned on nearly every page of the letters and who was associated with him in procuring new books and pamphlets for Pinelli – was Piero Del Bene, Abbot of Belleville, a member of the numerous, rich, and distinguished Italian banking family of that name settled in France. Bruno's *Figuratio Aristotelici Physici Auditus* (Paris, 1586)⁹ is dedicated in admiring terms to this same Del Bene, Abbot of Belleville, of whom Corbinelli so often speaks to Pinelli as the 'Abate', or 'il nostro Abate'.

A study of the interests of Corbinelli, Del Bene, and their circle might therefore throw light on those of Bruno at this time, and help to anchor him in the contemporary scene. There is ample material for such a study in the Corbinelli-Pinelli correspondence; and it will not be possible to extract the full value from the references to Bruno here quoted until they can be read in the context of the tenor of these letters as a whole. The correspondence deserves to be published in its entirety, for it is of great importance, not only for its light on literary and learned matters, but as representing a certain current of political and religious

feeling running in the late sixteenth century between some circles in the Veneto and some circles in France. The present article will make some attempt to relate the Bruno extracts to the background of the letters; but the only really satisfactory commentary on them would be a complete edition of the correspondence in which they are embedded.

The first two references by Corbinelli to Bruno to be quoted here are from letters of 16 February and 14 April 1586. They throw a new light on the relations between Bruno and Fabrizio Mordente of Salerno. In one of his Latin works, published in Paris in 1586 with the title *Dialogi duo de Fabricii Mordentis adinventione*,¹⁰ Bruno lavishes extravagant praise on Fabrizio Mordente Salernitano, and his invention of a new type of compass, speaking of him almost as an inspired person who has placed the science of geometry on a new footing, in language rather similar to that which he had used of Copernicus in the *Cena de le ceneri*. Corbinelli hints that behind this publication there was a curious situation.

Though not himself much versed in philosophy or in mathematics Corbinelli knew that these were among his employer's major interests and that he was particularly anxious to collect works on these subjects for his library.¹¹ He had already spoken of Fabrizio to Pinelli in a letter of 29 September 1585, in which he said that Fabrizio was with him every day, and that he (Corbinelli) was trying to get a pension for him from Catherine de' Medici, adding that Fabrizio is a rare man in his profession, though 'un cervello troppo impatiente et queste matematiche l'hanno troppo assottigliato'. With that letter Corbinelli sent two printed books ('due stampe') by Fabrizio, probably the edition of his *Compasso et riga* published at Antwerp in 1584 and at Paris in 1585; and he added that Fabrizio was preparing another version of the work because he was not content with the form in which he had printed it.¹²

Not very long after Corbinelli wrote this letter, Bruno would have arrived in Paris, returning from England in the train of Mauvissière, the ambassador. He perhaps soon met Fabrizio and became acquainted with his project of printing a revised form of his work, for on 2 February 1586, Cotin records in his diary that 'Jordanus m'a dit que Fabricius Mordentius Salernitanus est à Paris, aagé de 60 ans, dieu des géométriciens, et surpassant en cela tous ceux de devant luy et de maintenant, ne sçachant latin; Jordanus fera en latin imprimer ses inventions.'¹³ This entry be-

comes clearer now that we know from Corbinelli that Fabrizio was planning a new version of his book. Bruno steps into this project, and plans to rewrite Fabrizio's work for him, and in Latin, thus remedying Fabrizio's unfortunate ignorance of that language. The following extracts show that Fabrizio deeply resented Bruno's action.

Extract from a letter of 16 February 1586¹⁴

Io le mando quelle due scritture. et contro al Nolano e in una collera bestiale il nostro Fabritio et se ne vuol vendicare in ogni modo: ma non mi pare pero ch'egli habbia tutte le ragioni, perche il Nolano se bene honorase di quello suo discorso, tuta volta celebra anco et fa autore chi n'e l'autore. L'altra scrittura e tenuta folla da chi sa; et non se ne trova molte. De quanti, patientia.

(I send you these two writings;¹⁵ our Fabritio is in a brutal rage against the Nolan and wishes to avenge himself in every way: but it does not seem to me that he has all the right on his side because, although the Nolan honours himself with this discourse of his, at the same time he also celebrates, and makes the author, him who is its author. The other writing is considered mad by those who know and there are not many of them to be found. Of such, patience.)

This might be interpreted to mean that one of the two 'writings' sent to Pinelli with this letter was a discourse by Bruno about Fabrizio's compass, which had made Fabrizio very angry with Bruno for appropriating his work. But Corbinelli is of the opinion that Fabrizio (whom he had earlier characterised as 'troppo impatiente') is not altogether justified in his reaction, because Bruno praises his work and gives him full credit as the author.

The 'discourse' thus described sounds very much like the printed *Dialogi duo Fabricii Mordentis* in which Bruno certainly 'celebrates' Fabrizio as the author of the compass invention. However, it can hardly have been the printed book as we have it, containing the two dialogues 'Mordentius' and 'De Mordentii Salernitani Circino', which was sent with this letter, for reasons which will appear when we study the extract from a later letter to be quoted presently. What was sent with this letter of 16 February

may have been, I think, a manuscript by Bruno containing the substance of the first dialogue in the printed book.

In spite of a certain obscurity here, there can be little doubt of the main point, that one of the 'scritture' sent with this letter of 16 February was a discourse by Bruno about Fabrizio's invention. We thus gain from this letter the interesting information that at least one work by Bruno was sent to Padua by Corbinelli, presumably to take its place in Pinelli's celebrated library. As to the other 'mad' writing sent with this letter, it is useless to attempt to conjecture what this was or who it was by. (One has no right, I think, to assume from Corbinelli's words that *both* the 'scritture' were by Bruno, though it would be very tempting to do so.) Corbinelli is here being purposely vague and mystifying, as often in these letters when he is sending his employer something which he does not want to fall into inquisitorial hands in Italy.

Extract from a letter of 14 April 1586¹⁶

Il Nolano ha stampato non so che, dove mette in cielo il compasso di Fabritio, ma come philosopho par poi che e' vogli regolare il giuditio et la traditiva del detto Fabritio quasi mostrandoli ch'egli habbia bisogna d'un che dichi meglio le ragion sue. Fabritio fulminava, et voleva stampare ma s'avviluppa et quando parla, et quando scrive; e'l Nolano che sapeva questo s'era preparato a volerli ben lavar il capo nel ii^o Dialogo. Mi par che la cosa sia cessata, et che ciascuno si contenti di non passar piu oltre. A Fabritio costa parecchi scudi per comparar et far abbruciar il Dialogo del Nolano, che se ne potro haver uno, lo manderò a V. S.

(The Nolan has printed I know not what in which he extols to heaven Fabritio's compass, but as a philosopher it seems that he wants to regulate the judgment and the expression of the said Fabritio, as though to show him that he has need of someone who should expound his arguments better (than he can himself). Fabritio fulminated with rage and wanted to print, but he gets muddled both when he speaks and when he writes. And the Nolan, who knew this, was prepared to scold him well in the second dialogue. It seems to me that the affair is over, and that both of them are content to go no further. It has cost Fabritio several crowns to buy up the Nolan's

dialogue and have it burned. If I can get hold of a copy I will send it to your excellency.)

Pinelli now hears again, what he had been told in a previous letter, that Fabrizio is very annoyed with Bruno for expounding his ideas for him. Corbinelli is endeavouring to get hold of a copy of Bruno's printed dialogue on the subject – which Fabrizio is trying to buy up and burn – to send to Pinelli. This shows that this printed dialogue cannot be the same thing as the 'scrittura' (probably a manuscript) sent with the former letter, though its contents sound similar. And what is the 'second dialogue', in which Bruno was preparing to reply to a projected printed attack by Fabrizio?

The impression which I gain from Corbinelli's rather confused remarks here is that the two dialogues of the *Dialogi duo* must originally have been published separately. To the first one, Fabrizio planned a printed reply; which Bruno was 'preparing' to counter in the second, but he withdrew; for the second dialogue, as we have it, is even more lavish in its praise of Fabrizio than the first. This gave Corbinelli the impression – a mistaken one as will appear later – that the controversy was now over.

Corbinelli's story corresponds quite well with what Bruno himself had originally told Cotin on 2 February, namely that he intended to print Fabrizio's invention for him in Latin. It does seem that Bruno thought, as Corbinelli says, that Fabrizio needed someone to expound his arguments for him better than he could himself. Yet on that day, before all this quarrel had arisen, Bruno expressed to Cotin an admiration for Fabrizio as extravagant as that in the second of the printed dialogues, which would seem to indicate that the enthusiasm of the second dialogue was genuine, and not ironic, or directed against Fabrizio. The Nolan probably saw something in Fabrizio's compass invention which suited his own ideas¹⁷ and rushed in to expound this in a manner which Corbinelli thought a little high-handed, though not base or ungenerous in motive. It was with the aid of his brother, Gaspare, that Fabrizio Mordente eventually achieved the definitive edition of his 'compass' which was published at Antwerp in 1591,¹⁸ in a very sumptuous manner; some news of the preparations for it was given to Pinelli by Corbinelli in a letter of 27 September 1587.¹⁹

Fabrizio Mordente's compass has been suggested as a possible fore-runner of Galileo Galilei's invention of the proportional compass.²⁰ In this connection it is interesting to remember that when

Galileo was in Padua, from 1592 onwards, he was on intimate terms with Pinelli who allowed him, as he generously allowed all scholars, to use his library and collections.²¹ There, as we now know from Corbinelli's revelations, Galileo might have seen material relating to Fabrizio Mordente's strange controversy with Giordano Bruno in Paris in 1586.

Corbinelli's next references to Bruno occur a few weeks later and are full of interest:

Extract from a letter of 6 June 1586²²

Il Nolano sempre contra il Mordente, et nuovi dialoghi. Hora egli e dreto a destruere tutta la philosophia peripatetica et per quel poco ch'io n'intendo mi par che e' dica molto bene le ragion sue. Penso che sara lapidato da questa Universita. Ma presto se n'andra in Alemagna. Basta che in Inghilterra ha lasciato scismi grandissimi in quelle scuole, et e piacevol compagnietto, epicuro per la vita. Il *Brutum Fulmen* s'e visto ne v'e altro di male, se non ch'ei non lascia nulla l'Ottomanno ch'ei non dichi et non citi: l'altro sara piu civile, et non meno erudito, et credo si comincera a vender adesso sotto mano. Io procurero d'haver l'uno et l'altro et per lei et per me se l'Abate, come piu sollecito in quelle novita, et me (meglio?)²³ servito, non anticipa. Pelli altri che la vorrebbe credo che lui possi haverli o trovarli. Io gli ho solamente veduti, ma non potuto haver. Se la non sara servita da lui, forse ch'io la potro satisfar di qualcuno.

(The Nolan still against Mordente, and new dialogues. Now he is engaged in destroying the whole of the peripatetic philosophy, and, from what little I understand of it, it seems to me that he delivers his arguments very well. I think that he will be stoned by this University. But soon he is going to Germany. Enough that in England he has left very great schisms in those schools. He is a pleasant companion, an Epicurean in his way of life. The *Brutum Fulmen* has been seen, there is nothing wrong with it, except that Hotman does not leave out anything which he does not say or cite. The other will be more civil and not less erudite and I think that it will now be sold secretly. I will procure both the one and the

other, both for you and for myself, if the Abate who is more eager for these novelties, and better served, does not anticipate. As to the others which you want, I think he may get them or find them. I have seen them only, but have not been able to get possession of them. If you are not served through him, perhaps I can satisfy you through some one else.)

The news in this letter begins with the Fabrizio controversy, which is evidently still going on, and seems to have been the most striking feature of Bruno's life in Paris during this year, seen from Corbinelli's angle. If these 'new dialogues' were printed (as the next extract to be quoted would seem to suggest) the book has not survived, as no publication, other than the *Dialogi duo*, by Bruno about Fabrizio is extant.

The next sentence introduces an episode which is familiar to us from other sources, namely Bruno's public dispute against Aristotelian philosophy in the Collège de Cambrai, which took place on 28 and 29 May, a little over a week before this letter was written, and is described in Cotin's diary.²⁴ Bruno's part in the dispute was published at Paris this year;²⁵ Corbinelli might therefore have seen this book, if it was printed as early as this, which is doubtful. And from the way he phrases it, it is much more probable that he is alluding to the public dispute. It sounds as though Corbinelli had been present at this, and had been impressed by Bruno's conduct of it – 'mi par che e' dica molto bene le ragion sue' – though he does not think himself competent to give a judgment about its subject. Corbinelli's favourable attitude to Bruno here is striking. He was himself no friend of the Sorbonne, which had given him trouble in the matter of procuring and sending books to Pinelli,²⁶ and when he remarks that he thinks that Bruno will be stoned by the University one gains the impression that his sympathies are not with the University.

The next remark would seem to suggest that Corbinelli must have been on fairly intimate terms with Bruno, this 'pleasant companion'. He knows something of his way of life which he does not censure, though hinting that it is not of the most austere. He knows too of his future plans, that he is soon going to Germany; and he has heard of his recent exploits in England.

In the almost total absence of any evidence, apart from what he says in his own works, of what kind of impression Bruno made in England, the phrase which Corbinelli uses here is very precious.

'Basta che in Inghilterra ha lasciato scismi grandissimi in quelle scuole.' The 'schools' are presumably the Oxford schools, where we know that Bruno had thrown down his anti-Aristotelian challenge. Corbinelli may be only repeating Bruno's own report of his activities in England, though he was in a good position to hear news from that country independently of Bruno. He had Italian friends in England and had himself been there in 1569;²⁷ and he often had opportunity of seeing reports of news from England which he repeats to Pinelli. Indeed his letters are an important, and hitherto too much neglected, source of information on English affairs. Considerable weight, therefore, may be attached to his statement that Bruno had 'left great schisms' in the English schools. Coming immediately after the news of the strong public opposition in Paris to Bruno's views, the statement would seem to indicate that, in contrast to this, the philosopher had made more converts in England and had left behind him a considerable following in that country.

The brief impression of Bruno as a 'piacevol compagnietto, epicuro per la vita' seems to close what Corbinelli has to say about him in this letter and he now passes abruptly – after his usual manner in these hastily written notes – to another subject. But, as was observed at the beginning of this article, the context in which the references to Bruno occur in these letters may turn out to be even more illuminating than the references themselves. Immediately after his news of Bruno here, Corbinelli goes on to speak of François Hotman's violent attack on Pope Sixtus V for his recent bull excommunicating Henry of Navarre. This work – mentioned by its short-title as Hotman's *Brutum Fulmen* – together with another unnamed work of similar import, Corbinelli will obtain for himself and for Pinelli, if the 'Abate' has not already done so. The 'Abate' – who is Piero Del Bene, Abbot of Belleville, to whom, as already mentioned, Bruno dedicated a book this year – is here described as particularly interested in works of this kind and in a good position to obtain and distribute them secretly.²⁸ He will probably be able to get hold for Pinelli of other works for which the latter has asked, the authors and titles of which Corbinelli is careful not to repeat.

The last mention of Bruno which I have found in these letters comes about two months later:

Extract from a letter of 4 August 1586²⁹

Scrissi 3 di fa a V. S. idest il p^o d' Agosto, et li dissi come io non mi ricordo che scrittura e quella di quel segretario che V. S. mi dimanda, o il principio di quella, tanti confusioni ci passono per la testa, et che detti la lettera al consigliere del vostro dottore, et che il Giordano s'ando con Dio per paura di qualche affronto, tanto haveva lavato il capo al povero Aristotele. Il Mordente andò al Guisa et vuole ch'ei pigli il mondo co suoi ingegni. C'e non so che altra stampa contro il Mordente, ma non me ne ricordo; oltre alli altri libri che primo haveva stampato in Inghilterra sopra diverse materia d'Amore, et di philosophia et Matematica. Havete viso il p^o libro et poi il ii^o contro alla Bolla l'uno appassionato et poco decoro, l'altro laborioso nel vero, ma con poco sale. Il terzo che e appena hoggi veduto, del Pithou: per dirlo a V. S. et³⁰ tribus cartis dice grande cose con una precedentia di Francia contra Spagna³¹ che sara con quella se potro haverlo come m'ha promesso Le Fevre, a casa del quale ho di gia mandato.

(I wrote to your excellency three days ago, that is on the 1st of August, telling you that I cannot remember what was the writing by that secretary for which you asked me, nor how it began – so many confusions pass through our heads – and that I gave the letter to your doctor's counsellor and that Giordano is going with God for fear of some affront for having scolded poor Aristotle so much. Mordente has gone to Guise and wants him to take his part with his inventions. There is something else printed against Mordente but I cannot remember what; as well as the other books which he had printed before in England on various matters, on Love, and on philosophy and mathematics. You have seen the first book and also the second one against the bull, the one passionate and somewhat indecorous, the other laborious and true [in the truth], but lacking in wit. The third one, which has hardly been seen till to-day, by Pithou. Let me tell your excellency that on three sheets of paper he says great things giving precedence to France against Spain; it will be together with that (?) if I can get hold of it as Le Fèvre has promised me, and I have already sent to his house for it.)

The opening sentence here illustrates Corbinelli's habit – for

which allowance has to be made in assessing these extracts – of giving the same information more than once in case some of his communications should go astray. He had evidently written about Bruno's difficulties on 1 August; there is no letter of that date in the Ambrosiana collection. It is possible that what he says here about further dialogues by Bruno against Fabrizio Mordente may be a repetition of the news about this given in the letter of 6 June, and does not mean that yet another item in this controversy had appeared. Nevertheless one gains the impression from Corbinelli that there must have been more manuscript and printed material by Bruno on Mordente circulating in Paris than has come down to us. In this letter there is perhaps a hint that the quarrel is taking a political turn. Mordente has gone to the Duke of Guise for support. Corbinelli makes no unfavourable comment on this, but he was himself a loyal member of the group round Henri III, and strongly anti-Guise and anti-League. He must surely have been worried by this action of Mordente's, with whom he had formerly been intimate; and indeed this whole letter gives an impression of confusion and anxiety.

The situation in Paris at this time was indeed agonising. The League, supported by Spain and led by the Guises, was beginning to come out openly against the King, and events were moving swiftly towards that culminating horror of the religious wars of the century, the disastrous three-cornered conflict between Leaguers, Royalists and Huguenots. In this context of rising political and religious passions, Bruno's attacks on Aristotle and quarrel with Mordente have made him dangerously conspicuous. He is going in fear of some affront; and the angry Mordente has turned menacingly towards Guise. This letter fills in the background of Bruno's own non-committal statement to the Venetian inquisitors that he left Paris 'per causa di tumulto'.³²

The information which Corbinelli gives Pinelli about the books which Bruno had published in England is a little vague, but it shows that he knew something about them. The book on 'love' must, of course, be the *Eroici furori*. And it is significant that immediately after mentioning Bruno's books he runs into the same thought-sequence as in the letter of 6 June, and proceeds to speak of books 'against the bull'. The 'first' and 'second' books 'against the bull' are probably the same two as those mentioned in the letter of 6 June; Hotman's *Brutum Fulmen* and the unnamed one which is here again compared and contrasted with Hotman's book. Pinelli is given here an impression of the two books which tallies

with what was said of them in the earlier letter. Hotman goes too far; the other book is sound, but dull. With the remarks about Hotman's book here and in the letter of 6 June may also be compared the reference to it in yet another letter, written on 25 April of this year, in which Corbinelli speaks of 'that which Hotman has written against the bull against Navarre which, indeed, says great things but the old man passes the bounds of decorum, and introduces frivolous matter amongst affairs of moment'.³³

The third of the three publications 'against the bull' mentioned in the letter of 4 August is by Pierre Pithou, and is very short. Politically, it is a strong statement of the case of France against Spain. Pinelli has not yet been sent this, but he already has the other two; which shows that the 'Abate' had been successful in his zealous efforts to obtain and distribute books of this kind.

Nothing is said, either in this letter or in the one of 6 June, which definitely links Bruno with the books 'against the bull'. Yet it is interesting that Corbinelli's pen seems to run on almost instinctively and habitually from the notion 'Bruno' to the notion 'books against the bull'. It may therefore be worth while to explore a little further the topic of the Pope's excommunication of Henry of Navarre which seems to loom so large in the contemporary scene as Corbinelli sees it.

It was on 2 September 1585 that the famous bull of Sixtus V against Henry of Navarre and the Prince of Condé was published.³⁴ The bull proclaimed that as relapsed heretics the Bourbon princes were under the ban of the Church; therefore they had forfeited all right ever to succeed to the throne of France; and that all oaths of obedience to them made by their followers were not binding. The bull, which may have been intended to clarify the religious situation, was looked upon by all adversaries of Spain, and especially by Venice and England, as a papal gesture towards Philip II and the League. In France an outcry was raised against it, not only by Navarre's Huguenot supporters, but by many anti-Spanish Catholic loyalists.

In a letter of 25 October 1585 Corbinelli describes the formal presentation of the bull by the papal nuncio at the French court and its cold reception by Henri III, adding that many people are concocting writings against the Pope. Corbinelli's own views on the subject can be gathered from certain remarks in this letter, for example 'non ci pareva tempo da scomunica', and the even more

outspoken, 'della malignità quanto al Papa son sicuro; della sapientia dubito'.³⁵ Presumably he could count on Pinelli's agreement with such opinions.

Soon the concocted writings began to appear, forming quite a little crop of literature.³⁶ Foremost among them was the work by François Hotman, the celebrated and learned author of the *Franco Gallia* and one of Navarre's leading propagandists and men of affairs. Hotman's book, first published in 1585, bore the rather ponderous title of *Brutum Fulmen Papae Sixti V adversus Henricum serenissimum Regem Nauarrae, & Illustriss. Henricum Bourbonium Condaeum*.³⁷ This is, of course, the book referred to by Corbinelli and which was eventually sent to Pinelli, probably through the good offices of Del Bene.

The defence of Henry of Navarre in Hotman's *Brutum Fulmen* follows the usual lines of pro-monarchist, anti-papal propaganda, with much discussion of the 'Donation of Constantine'. The Pope is accused of enormous crimes: of tyrannical pride; of instigating wars; of the blasphemy of calling himself God, 'Papa est omnia et super omnia'. But his chief offence, which runs through all the arguments, is that of presuming to judge princes. Hotman's point of view is almost identical with that of many English propagandists for Queen Elizabeth. The application of the satire to Sixtus V in particular is directed against this Pope as a Franciscan monk who has introduced forms of piety which the author regards as ignorant, superstitious, sordid, covered with the 'mud of the Cordelier sect' out of which this Pope has risen. The book was put on the Index and eventually confuted in detail by Cardinal Bellarmine.³⁸

Another attack on the bull, probably published in France but which is addressed particularly to Italy, is the *Aviso piacevole*,³⁹ which is mainly in verse. The author joins in the popular Protestant pursuit of picking out quotations from famous writers – in this case Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio – which criticise Rome, and giving them a 'Reformation' sense. The author also produces verses of his own in which he addresses the Pope as the Beast of the Apocalypse, in what is probably intended to be a Dantesque style. This type of Dantesque, 'imperialist' Protestantism was also very popular in England.⁴⁰

The author of the *Moyens d'abus*,⁴¹ published in 1585, was not a Protestant, but calls himself a good Catholic in the dedication of his work to Henri III. His line of historical argument is, however, very similar to that of Hotman. Like Hotman, he gives innumerable quotations from those who have supported the 'im-

perialist' argument (adducing amongst others Nicolas of Cusa) to prove that Popes have not the authority to judge Princes. I am inclined to think that this may be the book which Corbinelli compares with Hotman's *Brutum Fulmen*. It is certainly as 'erudite' as Hotman's book, less scurrilous, and duller. If this is so, the point of view of the *Moyens d'abus* with its Catholic loyalism to Henri III and its anti-Sixtus monarchism would be the point of view which Corbinelli endorses – one which does not go to such extremes as Hotman but firmly maintains the rights of princes. This book also was refuted by Bellarmine.⁴²

I have not been able to discover any work by Pierre Pithou against the bull; what Corbinelli describes sounds like a very short anti-Spanish and anti-League pamphlet, rather than a book.⁴³ Pithou was a former Calvinist, who had abjured, and thereafter stood for Catholic loyalism and moderation, and a conciliatory attitude towards Henry of Navarre. He discussed the bull in a book published in 1594 in which he argued that, notwithstanding it, the French bishops had power to absolve Henri IV and to reconcile him with the Church.⁴⁴ It is highly probable that he would have written an anti-Spanish pamphlet at this time for this would be consistent with his whole attitude. He was later to be one of the most important contributors to the *Satyre Menippée*.

This brief survey gives some slight notion of the trend of the works which Corbinelli was at this time sending to Pinelli, and in which the Abate Del Bene was particularly interested. Del Bene was well-known for his sympathies with Navarre: indeed a *Coq à l'Asne* of 1585 suspects him of 'spying' for Navarre at the court.⁴⁵ He played some part in the religious politics of the age, particularly in the matter of negotiations between Henri III and Henry of Navarre, and the latter thought very highly of him, and indeed of the whole Del Bene family.⁴⁶ He was very closely in the confidence of Henri III.

It would thus seem that Corbinelli and Del Bene stood for an attitude which deplored what appeared to be the pro-Spanish policy of Sixtus V and his treatment of Navarre. When the Corbinelli correspondence is fully unravelled more evidence of this may be found.⁴⁷ These people receive Giordano Bruno amongst them almost as one of themselves, admiring his conduct of his philosophic debates and speaking of his books in the same breath with those 'against the bull'. Was there, then, something in his point of view which corresponded to theirs? And did Del Bene distribute books by Bruno through his underground channels?

I have indicated in my book *The French Academies of the Sixteenth Century* what I believe to have been the nature of the conciliatory policy underlying Henri III's religious movement⁴⁸ – a policy which eventually paved the way for the conversion of Henry of Navarre and may have hoped eventually to include Elizabeth of England. I believe that Bruno moved to some extent within the orbit of this policy,⁴⁹ though developing an extremist version of it which envisaged widespread religious changes, and that his visit to England may even have been something in the nature of a secret mission inspired by groups in the close confidence of Henri III. To find Bruno received with such tolerance, on his return to Paris from England, by such a group⁵⁰ certainly does not disprove this thesis, and may eventually help to confirm it. However, I do not want to go over this ground again here, but to consider whether the matters discussed in this article can throw any fresh light on Bruno's works.

In one of its aspects, the *Spaccio della bestia trionfante*, 1584, is a political pamphlet, containing a vehement defence of the French king, Henri III, against the machinations of Spain and the League, and offering to Elizabeth of England his friendship and alliance against their common enemy Spain.⁵¹ In another aspect, it is an outline of some vast movement of ethical and religious reform, embracing the whole cosmos, in which the Beast of evil is finally dethroned and a virtuous harmony reigns supreme. In this apocalyptic vision, a monarch, Henri III, is crowned with the constellation of the *Corona australis*,⁵² whilst the *Corona borealis* still awaits some great liberating hero.⁵³ Perhaps it is a monarchical, or imperial, reform of Dantesque dimensions which is here prophesied, led by Henri III in association with other princes.

In the following year, Bruno strangely and ironically reversed this vision. The *Cabala del Cavallo Pegaseo* (with its pendant the *Asino Cillenico*) published, like the *Spaccio*, in London, but a year later, in 1585, is very closely linked, in all its imagery, with the *Spaccio*. The Ass of these dialogues is, we are told, the same as the Beast of the *Spaccio*, who now once more resumes his place and rule in the heavens.⁵⁴ I have never seen any satisfactory explanation of this riddle; and I now suggest that the *Cabala* was written after the 'bull against Navarre' (of 21 September 1585), and is an ironic commentary on that papal veto against conciliating heretic princes. The imperial reform is quashed; and the Beast reinstated. (In England, of course, such apocalyptic language about the Pope was *de rigueur*.)

To confirm such an hypothesis a detailed examination of a class of literature which has hardly yet been brought to bear on Bruno studies is required; such as that crop of rather tedious anti-papal diatribes called forth in France by the bull. The lengthy arguments of the *Brutum Fulmen* and the *Moyens d'abus*, on Popes versus Emperors, when compared with the statement in the preface to the *Cabala* that the Ass is 'duono papale in Roma' and 'duono imperial in Constantinopoli'⁵⁵ might indicate that Bruno's theme, also, is that of papal versus imperial, or monarchical, supremacy. The satire on 'santa ignoranza', which is the basis of Bruno's 'ass' irony, shows up as possibly meant to apply personally to Sixtus V, when compared with Hotman on that pope as a Cordelier monk. And the *Aviso piacevole* can supply, in a debased form, the poetic and apocalyptic vision of the Beast.

Bruno's satire is, of course, cast in a mystical and cabbalistic form – recalling abstruse works on occultism and magic such as Agrippa of Nettesheim's *De occulta philosophia*⁵⁶ which is far remote from the more sober, and mainly historical and juridical, approach of Hotman and others. And his reproaches against 'santa ignoranza' are mainly directed against its contempt for those who with 'impious curiosity' wish to seek out the 'arcana of nature'.⁵⁷ Yet even here, it might help to orientate our approach to Bruno to enquire whether such satire, also, might be applicable to Sixtus V personally, rather than a vaguely 'Renaissance' invective against 'medieval' ecclesiastical repression of natural philosophy. At this time Sixtus V was engaged, with his usual energy, on a campaign against astrology and all forms of magic as part of his Counter Reformation programme. In the year after the *Cabala* and *Asino* were published, this campaign reached its climax in his famous bull of 1586 against astrology and magic.⁵⁸ If, as has been recently suggested, Bruno's religious programme contained magical elements,⁵⁹ he might have found this side of Sixtus' policy even more irksome than his attitude to heretic princes.

Bruno himself, in a later work, gave some information about his 'ass' satire which does not militate against our hypothesis. In the *De imaginum, signorum et idearum compositione*, published in Germany in 1591, he stated that a work by him on the 'Asinus Cyllenicus' had been suppressed: 'nos particulari stylo de illo (i.e. de Asino Cyllenico) scripsimus, quod, quia vulgo displicuit et sapientibus proper sinistrum sensum non placuit, opus est suppressum'.⁶⁰ He goes on to repeat, however, some of the metaphors of the suppressed work, adding, amongst further descriptions of

the Ass, that with its loud voice it quells the princes of this world who have rebelled against the gods: 'Vox vehemens quae gigantes, id est huius mundi principes et sapientes (qui contra deos rebel- larant), perterrit, dispersit, vicit.'⁶¹ This sounds like an allusion to papal bulls against heretic monarchs, and possibly also against wise magicians.

Finally, let us adduce the evidence of William Shakespeare. It has been argued⁶² that the character of Berowne in *Love's Labour's Lost* may contain allusions to Bruno. If that is so, then the notion 'Bruno' suggested the notion 'Navarre' as inevitably to Shakespeare as it did to Corbinelli, for he made his Berowne a courtier at the court of the 'King of Navarre'.

If there is anything in the suggestions just made, it is clear that Bruno might well have 'belonged' in a Parisian circle which believed in other methods of approach to Henry of Navarre than those of Sixtus. There would probably have been many shades of opinion within such a circle – Corbinelli, for instance, says that Del Bene was more enthusiastic over 'novelties' than himself⁶³ – and Bruno might have been on the outer, extremist, fringe of this anti-Spanish, Catholic, liberal group. Piero Del Bene, perhaps even more than Corbinelli, may be a key figure for the understanding of Bruno's European position. There is some manuscript material relating to Del Bene in the Bibliothèque Nationale which might yield information, in addition to Corbinelli's frequent mentions of him in the letters. In an important letter of August 1585 Pinelli is told of Del Bene's recent visit to the court of Navarre in Gascony; where his efforts are vaguely hinted at in mythological language as greater than those of 'Nessus'; and a hint of Navarre's possible conversion is dropped.⁶⁴ (Into such delicately poised hopes and careful probings, the bull of the following month must have crashed with devastating effect.) Further research on Del Bene may bring out the importance of Bruno's dedication to him of the *Figuratio Aristotelici Physici Auditus* in which Aristotle's philosophy is expounded through those mythological mnemonic images which play such an important part in many of his other works. Perhaps the *Figuratio* represents the 'true' Aristotelianism in Bruno's 'message';⁶⁵ in contrast to the 'false' Aristotelianism which he combated in the same year at the Collège de Cambrai.

The eventual conversion of Henry of Navarre, now Henri IV, seemed to many in England and in Italy, particularly in Venice, as well as in France, the signal that vast and vague hopes of some

kind were about to be fulfilled. (It was, by the way, Alessandro Del Bene, brother of Piero, who actually brought the document of the absolution from Rome to Henri IV in 1595.)⁶⁶ Agrippa d'Aubigné, the fervent Huguenot, speaks with disgust of the European excitement over his master's defection: 'Divines . . . were finding by the figures of geomancy, by oracles, by the fatal name of Bourbon, that this prince was destined to convert the hierarchies to the Empire, the pulpit into a throne, the keys into swords; and that he would die Emperor of the Christians. The Venetians were adoring this rising sun with such devotion that when a French gentleman passed through their town they would run to greet him. At the Court of the Emperor and in Poland one heard public prayers that the Empire might be confided into his fortunate hands, together with disputes concerning the reunion of religions, or the toleration of them all, and many discourses to induce Italy to this point of view.'⁶⁷ This sounds like an ironic description of some widespread movement of 'imperial' reform and conciliation, with a touch of magic in it, of which Henry of Navarre is the hero, and in which the 'Empire' takes the lead over the 'Papacy', thrones are exalted above pulpits, and the swords of temporal rulers have precedence over the keys of Peter.

With it may be compared Bruno's reported remark, after his return to Italy – to Venice – in 1591, that 'soon the world would see a great reformation of itself, for it was impossible that so many corruptions should last much longer, that he hoped great things of the King of Navarre'.⁶⁸ As A. Corsano has pointed out, it is significant that Bruno's return to Italy coincided with the accession of Navarre to the French crown, which aroused '*straordinarie speranze di rivolgimenti politico-religiosi, che non avrebbero mancato di operare profondamente nel seno stesso del cattolicesimo*'.⁶⁹

Corbinelli's revelations may have some bearing on the problem, raised by Corsano in his valuable book, of why Bruno took the dangerous step of returning to Italy. Bruno chose the Veneto as the part of Italy to which to return, and he spent some time in Padua after his arrival there.⁷⁰ Had he reason to think that the influential Gian Vincenzo Pinelli – friend of cardinals, such as Ippolito Aldobrandini,⁷¹ who as Pope Clement VIII was to receive the converted Henri IV into the Church, of the liberal Venetian theologian, Paolo Sarpi,⁷² and of great patrician families of Venice, such as the Mocenigo,⁷³ one of whom invited Bruno to Italy – would look favourably upon him? He certainly seems to have hoped for favour from Clement VIII.⁷⁴ As the representative of

the left-wing of a movement which seems to have had some secret following in Italy (if we can judge from what Corbinelli permits himself to say to Pinelli), he perhaps expected a reception other than that which was his fate.

One obvious pointer for future research to be deduced from Corbinelli's remarks is that the Pinelli papers in the Ambrosiana should be examined in case they contain 'scritture' by Bruno, sent from Paris. The prospects for such a search are not, perhaps, very hopeful, for after Pinelli's death the Venetian government, having heard rumours of some kind, examined his library and papers and confiscated a good deal of material.⁷⁵ Since Pinelli died in 1601, the year after Bruno was burned,⁷⁶ anything bearing on so dangerous a subject is likely to have been confiscated. Also a shipful of books and papers from the collection had been lost at sea before Federico Borromeo acquired what remained of it for the Ambrosiana.⁷⁷

I conclude with the plea with which I began, namely that the whole of the Corbinelli correspondence should be published, both for its own sake, and also because its general drift may be more important for the understanding of Giordano Bruno than the actual references to him quoted here. In this article I have tried to sketch something of its politico-theological line in relation to Bruno, without touching at all on Corbinelli's tastes in erudition, nor on many other matters which may be of even greater interest.

The historical anchorage for Bruno provided by the examination of the Corbinelli letters, and the matters of which they treat, may eventually help finally to dissipate what I believe to be two fundamental errors in the approach to his work. The first of these is the representation of him as a lonely thinker, pursuing an abstract line of philosophical enquiry, detached from contemporary issues, particularly religious issues. In my opinion, not only his moral and didactic, but also his philosophical and mnemonic works probably all relate to a politico-religious message. To ignore this may lead to misinterpretations of his philosophy. Even his defence of the Copernican theory may not be quite what it seems.⁷⁸

Secondly, Bruno has, I believe, been placed in a false perspective in the history of thought through being regarded as a representative of Renaissance freedom breaking away from mediaeval preconceptions. Bruno is, on the whole, like Pico della Mirandola, favourable to mediaeval philosophy, with which he compares the contemporary obsession with humanist studies to the disadvantage

of the latter. Historically speaking, the struggle against repressive forces which he seems to represent is, I believe, more likely to be the reaction of a certain type of Renaissance Neoplatonism, with its interest in the occult, against contemporary Counter Reformation, and Reformation, attitudes to that tradition, than the emergence of a Renaissance philosophy from mediaeval restrictions.

BRUNO AND CAMPANELLA ON THE FRENCH MONARCHY*

The French King always held, both in the Middle Ages and later, a peculiar and privileged position among the monarchs of Europe. Not only was he the 'Most Christian King', 'the Lord's anointed', singled out by God in the descent of the holy ampulla;¹ but, like the Holy Roman Emperor, he claimed descent from Charlemagne,² and so could reach back to Rome through that 'translation of the empire' to Charlemagne which kept a hold on men's imaginations as the living link with the universal *pax* and *justitia* of Rome which was out of all proportion to its real political significance.

The imperial potentialities or claims to universal leadership inherent in the French monarchy were theorised at about the same time that Dante was theorising those inherent in the Holy Roman Emperor – that is in the early fourteenth century – by the lawyer Pierre Dubois.³ Dubois was associated with the revival of Roman law taking place in France during the reign of Philippe le Bel, and his exposition of the place of the French monarch as *Dominus Mundi*, or Lord of the World, has to be seen against that background. Dante's *Monarchia* is, of course, also affected by the twelfth- and thirteenth-century revival of Roman law. Dante argues that in order to ensure universal peace, in which man's powers can be fully developed, the world must be under one ruler – and that ruler the Holy Roman Emperor, the true descendant of the Emperors of Rome. Dubois, too, was imbued with the belief that the world must be under one ruler to ensure peace and justice; but for him the bearer, the channel of the Roman univer-

* This, the original English title, changed by Dame Frances in typescript to 'The Idea of the French Monarchy', corresponds to the title of the French version, 'Considérations de Bruno et de Campanella sur la monarchie française', published in *L'Art et la pensée de Léonard de Vinci: Actes du Congrès Léonard de Vinci*, Paris, 1954.

salinity, is not the Holy Roman Emperor but the Most Christian King, the King of France, true descendant of Charlemagne and marked out by his peculiar holiness for such a mission. Dubois argues in the various pamphlets which he wrote as jurist in the service of Philippe le Bel that elections of Holy Roman Emperors are a fruitful source of war, and that it would therefore be a much better arrangement to make the Empire hereditary in the French monarchy.⁴ The Empire should therefore be 'translated' back to the French monarchy, a monarchy 'qui non recognoscit superiorem in terris',⁵ ruled over by a king descended from Charlemagne.⁶ In his *De recuperatione terre sancte* Dubois sets out a theory of world government to be established under the *Rex Christianissimus*. It was to have its centre in the recovered Holy Land (for the religious aspect of the Most Christian King is a part of the imperial visions of Dubois). His programme is more practical and less abstract than Dante's; but, as in Dante, it is the restoration of a universal peace, like that of Rome, which he envisages.⁷

The imperial theme of the French monarchy was again elaborately expounded in the sixteenth century by Guillaume Postel,⁸ who put forward in various books, particularly *Les Raisons de la monarchie*, published in 1551, theories of world unity under the French monarchy which both recall those of Dubois and anticipate those of Campanella. Some of Postel's notions are wildly extravagant, and indeed he was thought mad, even in his own times. His main programme belongs, however, to the tradition of world unity through the spiritual and the temporal monarchies. He believed that it would be possible to find by abstruse mystical arguments a formula for a world religion which would be congenial to Christians, Turks and Jews (a hope quite widely entertained in the sixteenth century) and at the head of this spiritual monarchy he would place, as the temporal head, the King of France.

The idea of the French monarchy always had a powerful hold on the Italian mind. Italians – always inclined to look beyond the Alps for the imperial hero who would come to save Italy – could choose as their hero either the *Sanctus Imperator Romanus* or the *Rex Christianissimus*. In practice, this choice often followed the party line between Guelphs and Ghibellines – the Ghibellines believing, like Dante, in the Holy Roman Emperor, and the Guelphs in the Most Christian King.⁹ Still, in the sixteenth century, Italians are making a choice between the two imperialisms. Ariosto chose the Holy Roman Emperor, Charles V, whom he

hails in the *Orlando furioso* in words which appeal to the universalism underlying the ideal of the office of the Emperor, in both the political and the religious sense:

E vuol che sotto a questo imperatore
Solo *un* ovile sia, solo *un* pastore.¹⁰

Gian Giorgio Trissino in *L'Italia liberata dei Goti* (1547) glorifies the eternal empire now living again in Maximilian and Charles V, and is thus making the same choice as Ariosto. Luigi Alamanni, on the other hand, chose the *Rex Christianissimus* and went to live in France where he wrote (in 1546) a long Arthurian chivalrous epic – *Girone il Cortese* – dedicated to Henri II, after the death of François Ier, his first patron. As Toffanin points out, the only difference between the imperialism of Trissino and that of Alamanni is that the former chose Charles V as Emperor, whilst the latter chose François Ier. Trissino thought that Venice had conquered Vicenza against the true emperor, Charles V; Alamanni thought that the Medici had conquered Florence against the true emperor, François Ier.¹¹

It is against this tradition of respect for the French monarchy along lines which transcend purely political or self-interested motives (although these motives may play their part) that one has to place the views of Bruno and Campanella on the French monarchy. Both were universally-minded Italians who both paid visits to France.

At the time of Giordano Bruno's first visit to France in the early 1580s, Henri III was putting forward under cover of his religious movement a kind of politico-religious conciliatory policy and seeking an alliance with England.¹² Bruno was well received at the French court, and in 1583 he came to England where, in 1584, he published the work entitled *Lo spaccio della bestia trionfante* in which he puts forward a scheme for a universal ethical and religious reform with which he associates, as leader, the French King, Henri III. 'This most Christian King', he says, 'loves peace, he preserves his contented people as much as possible in tranquillity and devotion; he is not pleased with the noisy uproar of martial instruments which serve the blind acquisitiveness of the unstable tyrannies and principalities of the earth; but with all manner of justice and sanctity which show the straight road to the eternal Kingdom.'¹³ One can hear in these words the Roman ideals of universal *pax* and *justitia* associated with the European leader-

ship of the Most Christian King of France. This leadership, says Bruno, is pacific in intention, and he offers it to Englishmen as a counterpoise to the aggressive ambition of Spain by which both France and England were menaced. Bruno is an Italian who has chosen the French monarchy for the ideal object of his allegiance, rather than the Spanish monarchy, which through the retention of the imperial title in the house of Habsburg claimed the Holy Roman Imperial traditions in support of its policies.

The French policy laid down in the reign of Henri III is continued in that of Henri IV, whose conversion from Protestantism to Catholicism aroused hopes in many minds that some kind of universal solution to both political and religious problems was about to be found through the French monarchy. It was at the time that this conversion was announced that Bruno returned to Italy, under the impression, probably, that the Pope was about to accept some new dispensation in which Papacy and French monarchy would co-operate in leading the world forward into a new golden age of peace and justice.¹⁴ Agrippa d'Aubigné gives the following satirical description of the effect in Italy of the conversion of his renegade chief:

J'avois appris qu'à Rome les disputes publiques avoient pour thèses ordinaires la comparaison du Roi d'Espagne et de lui [Henri IV]. Les devineurs de là trouvoient par figure de Geomance, par oracles, par le nom fatal de Bourbon, que ce prince doit convertir les hiérarchies à l'Empire, la chaire en throsne, et les clefs en espées, qu'il doit mourir Empereur des Chrestiens. Les Venitiens adoroient ce Soleil levant avec telle dévotion, que quand il passoit par leur ville un Gentilhomme François, ils couroient à lui . . . les peintres contrefaisoient son portrait . . . et le tableau estoit logé en lieu sacré. A la cour de l'Empereur et en Pologne, on oyoit vœux publics, pour mettre l'Empire en ses heureuses mains, avec disputes pour la réunion des religions, ou la tolérance de toutes, force discours d'amener l'Italie à cette raison, et de rendre les tiltres d'Empereur de Rome effiatieux, et non point tiltres vains . . .¹⁵

In this ironic description of the mystical imperialist hopes aroused in Italy by the conversion of the French King one can recognise the tradition which saw the French monarchy as the true inheritor

of empire, and the universal religious, as well as political, destiny assigned to it by dreamers such as Dubois or Postel.

Under Richelieu and Louis XIII, the French monarchy still held its universal appeal, as can be realised by studying its ideal reflection in the mind of Tommaso Campanella – yet another of those wandering Italians, always seeking for the true representative of empire.

In 1599 Campanella headed a mysterious revolt in Southern Italy in which he announced that portents on earth and in heaven were foretelling the advent of a new world order. He was arrested and detained in the prisons of the Inquisition for many years. His views on world order can be studied in *La città del sole* in which he describes an ideal city, the supreme ruler of which is called the Sun. He is both Prince and Priest, both temporal and spiritual head. This one Ruler is assisted in his rule by Power, Wisdom and Love, who regulate the lives of the citizens in accordance with a rational order based on social utility. The religion of the City is a syncretism of all religious faiths. In its ethical outlook and universal implications *La città del sole* has certain affinities with Bruno's *Spaccio della bestia trionfante*.

Campanella spent the rest of his life looking for the contemporary representative of the Roman Empire who would establish his City of the Sun. He tried first the Spanish monarchy – the modern representative, through the imperial title in the Habsburg family, of the Holy Roman Emperor.¹⁶ His *Monarchia di Spagna*, first published in 1620, urges that the Spanish monarchy must become a universal world monarchy, with arguments – including the familiar theme that in order to ensure universal peace and justice 'One must rule' – as to why this is necessary. It is to be a universal Catholic monarchy with the Pope as its spiritual head – and by 'monarchy' Campanella means *monarchia* in Dante's sense – the full Roman lordship of the world. In another work, he makes the Pope himself the one world ruler, in a universal theocratic state in which all religions are merged in one religion and there is a total union of all the peoples on the earth. In spite of the highly unorthodox nature of many of the ideas which he puts forward in the City of the Sun and elsewhere, Campanella was able to persuade himself that they would be congenial to the Pope because he was envisaging the advent of a new order – some approaching enlargement of man's horizons of which he was the prophet, and which would come through the traditional channels of the spiritual and the temporal monarchies.

In 1634, Campanella went to France, and there he transferred his whole apparatus from the Pope and the Spanish monarchy to the Pope and the French monarchy.¹⁷ In his *Political Aphorisms on the present Necessities of France*,¹⁸ published in 1635, Campanella announces that signs on earth and in the heavens foretell that the power of the Spanish monarchy is weakening whilst that of the French monarchy is growing,¹⁹ and he gives advice as to how this growth is to be maintained and increased. He outlines a policy which really amounts to persuading the Pope to translate the Empire from the house of Austria to the house of Bourbon. For two reasons, he says, the Pope may withdraw the Empire from those to whom he has given it – because of heresy and because of tyranny. Under the house of Habsburg, the Empire has tended to heresy, and its rule in Italy and in the New World has been cruel and tyrannical. It is therefore time that the Empire, which seems to be becoming no longer elective but hereditary in the house of Austria, should be taken from that house and given to another.

Daniel's prophecy of the four monarchies, he continues, the last of which was the Roman Empire, is to be completed by a fifth monarchy, the reign of Christ. In the Spanish monarchy, the fourth monarchy is ending and declining down towards Antichrist, but in the fifth monarchy – the coming new dispensation – only a most Christian monarch can co-operate with the Pope. Who is the most Christian monarch in Europe? Is it not he who holds the title of *Rex Christianissimus*? He who is enthroned by Christ with the heaven-descended holy oil, he whose office approaches most nearly to that of Christ, king and priest? Therefore, if it is asked to what monarch belongs the destiny of uniting all the world in one flock under one shepherd ('congregar tutto il mondo sotto una greggia e un pastore' – words from St John's Gospel used by Ariosto of the destiny of the Habsburg Emperor, Charles V), the answer is that this universal prince in the new dispensation will be the *Roi très chrétien*, the King of France.

Campanella does not allow that the descent from Charlemagne automatically confers the Empire translated to Charlemagne by Pope Leo III on the French king. But he urges on moral and mystical grounds that it must now be translated back to the French king as the most worthy descendant of Charlemagne. This is almost exactly the same position as that put forward by Dubois. Campanella, in fact, in the seventeenth century is urging the imperial destiny of the French monarchy on similar lines to those on which it was urged by Dubois in the fourteenth century. To this

Italian, the political rift in Europe caused by the rival ambitions and policies of the house of Habsburg and the house of Bourbon presents itself in terms of monarchy in the Dantesque sense – the universal Roman lordship of the world with its religious as well as political responsibilities. And the course of Campanella's career shows him seeking, as so many Italians had done before him, the true representative in the contemporary world of that lordship, finding it first in the house of Habsburg, with its hereditary retention of the imperial title, and then in the house of Bourbon, to whom he wishes the imperial title to be now translated. It is the old choice between the *Sanctus Imperator Romanus* and the *Rex Christianissimus*, the old debate between Ghibelline and Guelph, still going on in the Italian mind with its reluctance to abandon the ideal, the universal, the all-embracing, the monumental in human affairs.

Campanella was well received in France by all the leading French savants, and at the French court by Richelieu and Louis XIII. Luigi Firpo has recently published manuscripts found in the British Museum which relate to this period of the Italian philosopher's life.²⁰ One of these, the *Documenta ad Gallorum nationem* (1635), is a glorification of Louis XIII, who will free Europe from the Spanish tyranny and restore unity of religion. The form in which this panegyric is cast is that of an appeal by Charlemagne to his Gauls to follow their monarch in this holy mission.²¹ A similar political line underlies the *Consultationes aphoristicae* (1635), published in the same volume,²² in which Campanella urges the Italian states and princes, in tones of Dantesque fervour, to turn to the French monarchy for leadership. The manuscripts of these two pamphlets belonged to the library of the Chancellor Séguier²³ – in itself an indication of the importance attached to Campanella's politico-theological ideas in highly influential French circles.

When the *De sensu rerum* was published in France (1637), it appeared with a dedication to Richelieu, who is called upon to build the City of the Sun. And, just before his death, Campanella hailed, in a Latin eclogue on the Virgilian model, the birth of the child who was to be Louis XIV and who will bring back an Augustan age of imperial peace.

Cantabit Gallus: – Sua Petrus corriget ultro –;
cantabit Petrus: – Gallus super evolat orbem,

subiicit et Petro, et Petri aurigatur habenis. —²⁴

This is Campanella's vision of the coming world theocratic government — with the temporal monarch at last in an ideal relationship with the spiritual monarch in this perfect partnership between the Most Christian French Cock and the repentant Peter.

nam labor est iocus, in multos partitus amice,
quippe unum agnoscent omnes patremque Deumque.
Conciliabit amor fraternus cognitus omnes; . . .

Convenient reges, populorumque agmina in urbem
(‘Heliacam’ dicent), quam construet inclytus heros
[the future Louis XIV]

. . . sceptraque regnorum Christi deponet ad aras,
illaque iura dabit, quae olim docuere prophetae . . .

fas erit et pax.

A universal, and not purely French, golden age of political and religious peace under *Le Roi Soleil* as prophetically imagined by a visionary Italian.

In comparing the Middle Ages with the Renaissance, we are usually told that universalism — or rather the never-realised ideal of universalism — breaks down in the Renaissance. Men begin to limit their hopes of unity, justice, and peace to narrower areas, within the boundaries of national states. National patriotism arises to take the place of the old vaguely defined universal loyalties which sad experience had shown to be only at rare moments even partially workable, and which had usually led, as in the futile intervention of Emperors in Italy in the fourteenth century, to no golden age but to increased convulsion and disaster. Petrarch is often contrasted with Dante as representing the newer point of view as seen through Italian eyes. In place of the tremendous vision of the *Monarchia* of the one *Dominus Mundi* establishing a reign of peace and justice throughout the world, Petrarch, so it is sometimes said, would seem to transfer his enthusiasm to the vision of a united Italy, at peace within herself and so free to take up a destiny as a nation. It is questionable whether this is a true

view of the nature of Petrarch's Italian patriotism, but that is a problem which it is impossible to explore here.

It is, however, always possible to read history either forwards or backwards, and so it is perfectly legitimate to study in the Renaissance either the emergence of the future particularist or nationalist pattern of Europe or the survival of the more universally minded medieval past from which it was hewn – that medieval past which attempted in theory at least to preserve a Roman ideal of supranational unity through the figure of the Holy Roman Emperor, the counterpart in the temporal sphere of the supreme authority of the Pope in the spiritual sphere.

What I have been trying to suggest in this paper is that the *Rex Christianissimus* was in the Middle Ages, through the Renaissance, and indeed still in the seventeenth century – as we have seen in the case of Campanella – an alternative to the *Sanctus Imperator Romanus* as a focus for the ideal of Roman unity, an ideal which the Italians, of all the peoples of Europe, were the slowest to abandon. This suggests a question, or questions, which might be worthy of attention.

To what extent were the Italian artists, architects, or men of letters who put themselves in the service of the Kings of France in the sixteenth century aware of the ideal role of the *Rex Christianissimus* which we have been considering? And, if they were aware of it, was it a driving force which enabled them – however much they may have been more immediately influenced by personal considerations – to paint or build monumentally with inner conviction in the service of a monarchy which could stand in Europe for a universal idea?

BRUNO IN ITALIAN*

This new edition of Giordano Bruno's *Cena de le ceneri* is a most important contribution to Bruno scholarship. Some years ago Dr Aquilecchia discovered in the Biblioteca Nazionale of Rome a printed copy of the *Cena*, with manuscript interpolations, which he was able to prove to have been the definitive text of the work (see his article 'La lezione definitiva della *Cena de le ceneri* di Giordano Bruno' in *Atti della Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei*,

* Review of Giordano Bruno, *La cena de le ceneri*, a cura di Giovanni Aquilecchia, Turin, 1955; published in *Italian Studies*, XI, 1956.

CCCXLVII, 1950, pp. 209-43). He has made this text the basis of his edition, but has collated it with all the other early printed copies known (some of these first discovered by himself) and with two hitherto unused eighteenth-century manuscript copies. The result is a most meticulous piece of editing, a model of its kind, and in the future no Bruno scholar should use any other text of the *Cena* than that here established by Dr Aquilecchia. He has also provided a rich annotation to the text, based on his own researches and drawing on his wide knowledge in many fields. Particularly valuable are his linguistic notes for which he has made full and illuminating use of the dictionary of Bruno's friend John Florio.

Dr Aquilecchia is particularly well placed for interpreting the *Cena* – with its setting in sixteenth-century London – to Italian readers, for he combines full and expert knowledge of the Italian Cinquecento with wide reading in the latest English scholarship on scientific, philosophical, and literary movements in Tudor England. He indicates that the Copernican theory which Bruno expounds erroneously but with such zeal in these dialogues was already well-known and much discussed in Elizabethan England. He shows that the picture which Bruno presents of a scientific and philosophical discussion in London, presided over by gentlemen of the court, and at which the 'Oxford pedants' cut a poor figure, reflects the contemporary trend of scientific learning away from the universities towards groups of private investigators, working mainly in London and under the patronage of courtiers. He puts forward the ingenious suggestion that it was the cultural situation in England which induced Bruno to write his dialogues in the *volgare* rather than in Latin. The contemporary school of English scientific writers – for example Robert Recorde and Leonard and Thomas Digges – were publishing their scientific works in English. The adoption of the English 'vulgar' for such works was symptomatic of the new social cadres in which 'philosophy' was being pursued. In the court circles which were interested in philosophy, the Italian language was universally understood. Hence, argues Dr Aquilecchia, Bruno's use of Italian for his dialogues reflects both the widespread knowledge of Italian in England and the movement away from Latin and towards the vulgar in contemporary English scientific works. Dr Aquilecchia has further developed this idea in his article 'L'adozione del volgare nei dialoghi londinesi di Giordano Bruno', in *Cultura neolatina*, XIII, 1953. The thesis should not be over-pressed (Dr Aquilecchia himself

points out in his article the larger European aspects of the problem of scientific language). Nevertheless it is an interesting one. And it is in general most refreshing to find such a wide knowledge of the English background in a work in Italian and by an Italian on Giordano Bruno. It is to be hoped that this introduction will remove a good many of the misconceptions which are still current in Italy.

Dr Aquilecchia is stronger on literary and social elucidations than on the place of the *Cena* in the history of ideas, about which he becomes a little vague. Nevertheless it is not easy to see how he could have made any satisfactory attack on the complicated major issues in what is, after all, the introduction to only one of Bruno's books. He has therefore concentrated on the more manageable aspects of the *Cena*, and in the present transitional state of Bruno studies this was the wisest course for an editor to take.

BRUNO IN ENGLISH

I*

Born near Naples in 1548, burned at the stake in Rome in 1600, Giordano Bruno is one of the most striking figures among the Italian philosophers of the Renaissance, and has been one of the most misunderstood. His old reputation as martyr for modern science and the Copernican theory has had to be radically revised in the light of better understanding of the Hermetic basis of his philosophy, and this involves a new approach to the works which he wrote in England between 1583 and 1585. Among these is the remarkable one, the title of which is here translated as *The Heroic Frenzies*, in which Bruno presents his philosophy in the form of love poetry and love emblems.

In the dedication of this work to Philip Sidney, Bruno states that his love poetry is not addressed to a woman but represents heroic enthusiasms directed towards a religion of natural contemplation. The pattern is formed by a succession of emblems, meticulously described in words, the images of which are embodied in poems and discussed in commentaries on the poems. The images are mostly Petrarchan conceits about eyes and stars, arrows of

* Review of Giordano Bruno, *The Heroic Frenzies*, translated with an Introduction and Notes by Paul Eugene Memmo Jr, Chapel Hill, North Carolina, 1964; published in *New York Review of Books*, 23 December 1965 under the title of 'Renaissance Man'.

Cupid, and the like. This work shows the philosopher as poet; or the magician who seeks identification with the divine through intense cultivation of the imagination. The recurring poems on Actaeon who hunts after the vestiges of the divine in nature, until he is himself hunted and devoured by his dogs, express a mystical identification of subject with object and the wildness of the chase after the divine object, the naked Diana or 'the beautiful harmony of the body of nature', until there appears amidst the woods and waters of contemplation a vast vision of Amphitrite, embodying the enthusiast's imaginative grasp of the One behind the multiplicity of appearances.

It is difficult to convey in words the impact made on the reader by this extraordinary work, which is now made accessible in English in the translation by P. E. Memmo. What is most striking is the intense visualisation of the emblems, conceits, and mythological figures. For the poet-magician these images are not so much *explained* by the philosophico-religious commentaries that follow them; they are themselves the imaginative means of achieving the insights therein described. The stars-eyes that wound the lover, the arrows that pierce his heart, are more than images or allegories (Bruno insists that his poetry is not allegorical) of his experience of receiving intuitions of the divine splendour from the 'innumerable individuals and species of things'. They are the forms of his prayer, the expression of the intentions of his will towards receiving such experiences.

Though much has been done on the history of Petrarchist poetry in the Renaissance, particularly in the way of source-tracing, it is perhaps less important to find out whether a poet is copying Bembo or Ronsard than to ask with what kind of inner intentions he is using this repetitive and artificial language. There was always something of the liturgical element inherent in the *amour courtois* in Petrarchist love poetry; hence the ease with which its darts and death-dealing glances were transposed to devotional uses by the Jesuits. Some of the closest analogies to Bruno's use of Petrarchan emblems are in fact to be found in those little pictures of Divine Love shooting arrows into the Soul in the religious emblem books. It is with a kind of baroque religious intensity that Bruno expresses his cult of nature through love emblems, and one can perhaps sense here the workings of those impulses which were directing attention towards the natural world in the form of scientific enquiry. This is a moment in the history of Petrarchism in which the conceits are used, not of romantic woman-worship, nor as

transposed to orthodox religious uses, but in a cult of nature. Some trace of such 'natural' overtones in love poetry can perhaps be detected in the sonnets of the illustrious knight to whom Bruno dedicated this work; the word 'nature' occurs many times in Sidney's sonnets to 'Stella', whose star-like eyes are 'nature's chief work'. Though it might be tempting to read anticipations of Wordsworth into Bruno's romantic nature poetry, such a comparison must not be pressed, for Bruno's nature is a world of occult sympathies and stellar correspondencies which he cultivates with images that are not those of actual scenes or landscapes – though one wonders whether the woods and waters amidst which his natural divinity appeared to him may vaguely reflect a wondrous, unspoilt, valley of the Thames.

The five works in Italian and in dialogue form (of which *The Heroic Frenzies*, 1585, is one) which Bruno published during the two years of his visit to England were preceded by the extraordinary work on the art of memory, in Latin, which must have been printed soon after his arrival in 1583 and which is alluded to in *The Heroic Frenzies* as 'The Thirty Seals'. This work is, I believe, fundamental for the understanding of the Italian works. In it Bruno outlines his Hermetic religion of Love, Art, Magic, and Mathesis, and makes a passionate claim for the primacy of the imagination in the cognitive process, as the sole instrument for the grasp of reality. The ordering of images in series is his great preoccupation in this and other works on memory. Vital and living images will, he believes, unify the contents of memory and set up magical correspondencies between outer and inner worlds. Images, he insists, must be charged with the affects, and particularly with the affect of Love, and he expatiates on this theme in passages in which a magician's use of an emotionally charged imagination is strangely combined with mystical and religious use of love imagery. In such passages we are clearly within range of the use of love conceits in *The Heroic Enthusiasts*, and Bruno's intense insistence, in his works on memory, on the organisation of significant images must have relevance to the carefully ordered succession of images on which *The Heroic Frenzies* is based. When the works which Bruno published in England are gathered together in some unified series of translations, the passages on the imagination in 'The Thirty Seals' must not be omitted. They explain, or at least suggest, the use of the love conceits as part of

a magico-religious technique for becoming 'joined to the soul of the world'.

Memmo's translation of the *Eroici furori* is faithful; and the very important dedication to Sidney is here translated for the first time (L. Williams did not include it in his translation published in 1887-9 and now unobtainable). The poems are rendered in prose, which is useful from the point of view of accuracy but does not sufficiently distinguish the poetic statements of the themes from the prose commentaries. This workmanlike translation loses something of the *furor* or frenetic enthusiasm of the passionate original. In his Introduction, Memmo gives, among other matters, a rapid sketch of love poetry with philosophical commentaries from Dante onwards, discusses Renaissance Neoplatonism, quoting Ficino on the Platonic *furores* (Bruno is of course using the Platonic term in his title), and endeavours to relate Bruno's emblems to the emblematic tradition. One of his most valuable suggestions is that there may be an influence of mystical alchemy on some of Bruno's figures. There is much that is useful in this Introduction and also in Memmo's notes to the text of his translation, and the student will be grateful for the basic help which he has provided. The general approach to Bruno is, however, old-fashioned ('the heliocentric theory which Bruno himself had helped to form!'). A wider range of emblem literature might have been consulted for the discussion of Bruno's emblems. His emblem of the butterfly destroying itself in the flame could be exactly illustrated from the picture of this image in Camillo Camilli's almost contemporary collection of devices, where it has a motto taken from a line in Petrarch. I reproduced this in an illustrated article on Bruno's emblems, which Memmo does not appear to have seen. It was published in 1943 [and is now reprinted in *Collected Essays, I: Lull and Bruno*, 1982]. Such illustrations are needed to bring out Bruno's triple line of approach to each of his images which are expressed visually in the description of the emblem, poetically in the poem, and philosophically in the commentary. Bruno is working from his profound and oft-expressed conviction that the Painter, the Poet, and the Philosopher are all one.

According to Memmo, the *Eroici furori* is one of the last works of the Renaissance in which the visual arts, poetry, and philosophy form an organic whole. 'After Galileo's telescope confirmed the heliocentric theory,' he says, 'science and theology went their separate ways and eventually became sharply antagonistic. The

other disciplines followed suit, and accordingly, philosophy divorced itself from poetry. Poetry, too, according to the new habit of mind, came to be increasingly isolated from the visual arts.' Though there are obvious historical misunderstandings and exaggerations in these remarks, they are yet a perceptive attempt to put into words the significance of Bruno's work. I would try to formulate its historical position otherwise. In Bruno's cosmic, artistic, poetic imagination, the Renaissance reaches a very late phase, and one of extreme potency. It is this late form of the Renaissance which he brings with him to England at a very crucial moment.

This translation will draw attention to a most powerful and striking work, and will raise in many readers' minds questions of relevance to the English poetic Renaissance ushered in by Philip Sidney.

II*

These two volumes are to be welcomed for making accessible in English the most important of the Italian dialogues which Giordano Bruno published in England. In both cases there have been earlier translations – of the *Spaccio della bestia trionfante* by an anonymous translator in 1713, of the *De gli eroici furori* by L. Williams in 1887–9. Both these translations are unobtainable, or at least very rare, today, and neither of them translated the long and extremely important dedications of these works to Philip Sidney. These dedications are thus now available for the first time in English in the versions of A. D. Imerti and P. E. Memmo. Bruno's passionate addresses to Sidney before the *Spaccio* and the *Eroici furori* are the basic documents for the approach to the problem of Bruno's relations with Sidney. By translating these addresses the two volumes under review thus make a notable contribution to English Renaissance studies. The student unfamiliar with Italian can now form his own impressions about the meaning and possible influence of these dedications. And he can now study in easily available translations the two works which Bruno chose to present to Sidney – the strange, celestial, moral

* Review of Giordano Bruno, *The Expulsion of the Triumphant Beast*, translated with an Introduction and Notes by Arthur D. Imerti, New Brunswick, N.J., 1964 and *The Heroic Frenzies*, a Translation with Introduction and Notes by Paul Eugene Memmo Jr, Chapel Hill, North Carolina, 1964; published in *Renaissance News*, XVIII, 1965.

reform of the *Spaccio*, the love poetry with philosophical commentaries and intensely visualised emblems of the *Eroici furori*.

A. D. Imerti has rightly adopted the admirable title of the eighteenth-century translation and he has also rather closely followed throughout its poetic phraseology. I would be the last to blame him for this since I have always greatly admired the old translation and wished for its reprint. Sometimes Imerti loses some of its music by an unnecessary alteration. For example, where the old translator wrote 'the stupid and senseless idolators had no reason to laugh at the magical and divine worship of the Egyptians', Imerti alters to 'the stupid and senseless idolators had no reason to laugh at the magic and divine cult of the Egyptians'. Often he alters for the better and in the interests of accuracy. For anyone who knows the old translation well, reading Imerti is like meeting an old friend in a new suit.

One gathers from Imerti's preface that he is blind. Since, under these circumstances, it was heroic to attempt a long introduction on Bruno's life and works, one feels reluctant to criticise this too severely, particularly as this handicap would account for the curiously old-fashioned tone of this introduction and its writer's lack of knowledge of modern Bruno scholarship. Nevertheless, though one may read this introduction with pleasure for its sympathetic account of Bruno, it is the duty of a reviewer to warn that it is somewhat out of date. Imerti is unaware, for example, of the editorial and critical work of Giovanni Aquilecchia, and of the identification of the printer of the *Spaccio* as John Charlewood. Though he mentions in his bibliography Cardinal Mercati's publication of new documents about the trial in 1942, he does not use these (nor the discussions of them by Luigi Firpo and others) but still relies in his account of the trial solely on the documents published by Spampanato in 1933. There are a good many other similar *lacunae*, but most curious of all, perhaps is his error in giving Iamblichus as the source of the long quotations in the *Spaccio* from the Hermetic *Asclepius*. I think I have traced the source of this mistake to a note in the Gentile edition of the *Spaccio* which refers for the quotation of the Hermetic dialogue to an Aldine edition of it which also contains the *De mysteriis Ægyptiorum* of Iamblichus. Imerti's error here is all the more unfortunate since he has a sensitive appreciation of the significance of the 'Egyptians' for Bruno and for his cosmic religion. It is with regret and almost with apology that I feel obliged to proffer these criticisms of what has probably been a noble effort.

P. E. Memmo completely discards the old Williams translation of the *Eroici furori*, including its title. I am not sure whether I like *The Heroic Frenzies*, or whether I would have preferred some adaptation of Williams's use of 'enthusiasm', such as *On Heroic Enthusiasms*. However this is a difficult matter, since no modern English word quite represents the Renaissance use of the Platonic *furores*. Where I have checked it, Memmo's translation seems accurate, and it does preserve something of the poetry and power of the original (though the inaccurate Williams perhaps had more *furor*). He has had the advantage of using for notes and references those in Paul-Henri Michel's French translation of this work, one of the best modern editions and translations of any work of Bruno's.

In his introduction, Memmo endeavours to place the work by giving surveys of love poetry with philosophical commentaries from Dante onwards and of the emblem literature. Memmo thinks that Bruno's emblems are mainly derived from those of Paolo Giovio, Andrea Alciati, and Theodore de Bèze, referring to an article, which I have not seen, where he works out these comparisons in detail. A careful study of these three groups, he thinks 'makes clear beyond a doubt the peculiarly esoteric use to which Bruno put the emblems he derived or adapted from others'. I do not feel altogether happy about the classification and the clarity which it brings. Nevertheless Memmo throws out some interesting observations, particularly in his suggestion of alchemical influence on some of Bruno's emblems. I have long thought this myself, though I have never seen it stated anywhere before. What I would like to see would be an edition of the *Eroici furori* with illustrations drawn from the emblem and *impresa* literature and other sources. This would help to define the particular way in which Bruno uses the images. (I once attempted something of the sort, though incompletely, in an illustrated article on Bruno's emblems [now reprinted in *Collected Essays, I: Lull and Bruno*, 1982].) It is probable, however, that some understanding of Bruno's use of imagery in the Italian dialogues can only be reached through study of his works on memory.

The fact that these two brilliant and significant works of Bruno's are now available in good translations is an enrichment of the literature of the English-speaking world which is bound to have an important influence.

III*

Many years ago I tried to translate Giordano Bruno's *La Cena de le ceneri*. Full of the confidence learned from Bruno scholars of those times, I was certain that I knew what it was about. It was a defence of the Copernican theory for which the author was afterwards burned at the stake by the Inquisition, a martyr for modern science and precursor of Galileo.

Bruno sets out his argument in the form of a striking story. The Italian philosopher (himself) makes his way through the streets of Elizabethan London to a Supper to which he has been invited by some mysterious gentlemen who wish to hear him argue about the Copernican theory with two Aristotelian philosophers. As I worked at the translation I grew more and more fascinated by the strangely dramatic and significant story of this Supper, lighted by the Sun of heliocentric philosophy. And I was also seized by doubts. Was the debate at the Supper really about the Copernican theory or was it about the Supper? What a mad idea to come into the mind of the translator of a book which everyone knew was Bruno's defence of Copernicanism. No one would believe such a thing. I dropped the translation, though I published two articles (in 1939-40; see now *Collected Essays I: Lull and Bruno*, 1982) in which I argued that in order to understand this work it was necessary to know something about Elizabethan Oxford, the home of the 'pedants' at the Supper, and also something about contemporary Paris from which Bruno had come to England with a message from the French king. Working along the lines that there might be a politico-religious message in the work, I put forward the hypothesis that the defence of Copernican heliocentricity at the Ash Wednesday Supper referred to the Supper itself as a version of the Eucharist through which religious differences could be solved. It was supported by a religious philosophy with Bruno as its prophet and preacher and of which Copernican heliocentricity was the expression, signifying a new dispensation of universal tolerance.

For the next thirty-five years or so I continued to work on Renaissance intellectual history in Italy, France and England. My original guess about the meaning of *The Ash Wednesday Supper* appeared in slightly variant forms in later publications, supported

* Review of Giordano Bruno, *The Ash Wednesday Supper (La Cena de le ceneri)*, edited and translated by Edward A. Gosselin and Lawrence S. Lerner, Hamden, Connecticut, 1977; published in *Times Literary Supplement*, 3 June 1977.

by later research. In my book *Giordano Bruno and the Hermetic Tradition* (1964) I presented *The Ash Wednesday Supper* as a defence of a Hermetic or 'Egyptian' magical reform movement of which heliocentricity, and the infinite universe which Bruno associated with it, was a hieroglyph.

It is because I know from experience the difficulties of their task that I am able to appreciate the magnitude of the achievement of Messrs Gosselin and Lerner in the volume under review. They have produced a translation which brings this obscure work to the English reader without tampering with its peculiarities and with full understanding of its hieroglyphic character. They say that they have been guided as to style by an English translation of Rabelais, a most intelligent choice of a model. For both Rabelais, and Bruno in the *Supper*, use Plato's words about the Silenuses or comic figures within which were hidden the images of the gods as a parable of their methods of hiding a divine meaning under a comic style. The comedy of the Pedants at the Supper hides profoundly serious purposes, and it is this hidden quality which gives that strange significance to the story told in *The Ash Wednesday Supper*.

The translators have aimed at providing an interim text, a working model which can be used by the general reader and in the classroom as a basis for the exploration of the Bruno myth, and as a gateway to broader understanding of Bruno and his times. I believe that they have succeeded, in their modest and unpretentious way, in providing an English text which will be usable for these purposes.

Their introduction outlines the historical background, the French situation and the Elizabethan situation. And they present an important discussion of Bruno's cosmology and physics from a straight history-of-science point of view, from which it emerges that Bruno had an uncanny knack of sometimes reaching right conclusions from erroneous arguments. The writers accept throughout the view that the Copernican theory is subsidiary to the *Supper*, that is to say that the work as a whole is presenting a vast religious and reforming message of which the vision of an expanded physical universe is one aspect, or one 'translation'. Bruno conveys a remarkable vision of an infinite universe in which the earth and all the heavenly bodies move through the divine life which is in them. This concept of universal animation Bruno found in the Hermetic writings, which he attributed to 'Hermes Trismegistus'. Expanding it to cover an infinite universe and in-

numerable worlds, Bruno arrived at a world view which is a curious foreshadowing, in magical and animistic terms, of the mechanical world view. *The Ash Wednesday Supper* is the text in which Bruno most fully presents his Hermetic universe, a concept which is indissolubly connected in his mind with his Hermetic religious reform.

Readers and teachers can now use an English text for the exploration of these extraordinary ideas, a text which connects with Elizabethan literature through the presence of 'the Sidney circle' at the Supper, with French festivals through the use of an emblematic ship as a diagram, with history of ideas through the use of the Copernican theory and the Hermetic universe. The text is an amazingly rich example of Renaissance simultaneous thinking on several levels. In their clear and unassuming way, Gosselin and Lerner can be trusted to guide the reader through much of its complexity with their introduction and notes.

There are some omissions in their apparatus. They forget to say that the Hermetic and mystical interpretation of heliocentricity was present in Copernicus himself who, just below the famous diagram of the system which bears his name, quotes the words of Hermes Trismegistus who calls the sun a visible god. The knights at the Supper demanded that the book of Copernicus should be brought to settle the question of Bruno's interpretation of the diagram (which was, in fact, wrong). Below the diagram, both pedants and knights would have seen the words of Hermes on the sun in the *Asclepius*, the treatise on which Marsilio Ficino founded his solar magic. This would have opened up for those knightly Renaissance scholars the whole question of Ficino's cult of the sun, and of his astral magic. Gosselin and Lerner have almost entirely omitted Renaissance philosophy and Renaissance magic from their discussion of the 'background' of the Supper. But if their translation is used, as they intend it to be used, as a starting-point for the exploration of Bruno's world, it will inevitably lead to the problem of Bruno as a Renaissance magus.

What then becomes of the Bruno legend, of Bruno as the martyr for modern science, precursor of Galileo? Gosselin and Lerner suggest in a footnote, and they have expanded this idea in an article,¹ that Bruno's use of Copernicanism as a hieroglyph of a vast reforming movement might have caused the Inquisitors to suspect similar allusions behind Galileo's system of the world. This may well be a fruitful question to ask, the answering of

which might eventually lead to a new interpretation of the possible connection between the death of Bruno and the trial of Galileo.

SHAKESPEARE AND THE PLATONIC TRADITION*

THE PLACE OF Shakespeare in the history of thought is – incredible though this may seem – a comparatively neglected field of exploration. Shakespearean scholarship, so inexhaustibly curious about every other aspect of the great poet's life and art, has been strangely indifferent to this one. The problem falls into two parts. We require first of all a careful analysis of what Shakespeare's view of the universe was; and secondly, we must enquire from what earlier or contemporary currents of thought he might have derived it. In a recent article in the *Edinburgh University Journal*,¹ Professor Dover Wilson has broached these questions, and the present essay is inspired by some of the points which he raised. But it must be strongly emphasised that the following brief remarks are intended rather as suggestions for further enquiry than as in any sense solutions of the extremely complex problems involved.

Professor Dover Wilson's article brings out clearly the very important fact that Shakespeare's cosmology is predominantly Platonic rather than Aristotelian. The theme of the harmony of the universe and its close relationship to the physical and moral constitution of man – a theme which may be said to be the keystone of Shakespeare's thought about man and the universe – derives primarily from Plato's *Timaeus*. And although these Platonic harmonies are not irreconcilable in a general way with the Aristotelian scheme, yet there are points of detail in Shakespeare's interpret-

* Published in *University of Edinburgh Journal*, XII, 1942.

ation which are definitely Platonic. In that full analysis of the various strands in Shakespeare's philosophy which is a *desideratum*, the 'Timaeon' aspects of his cosmology would be set forth in full. One of them has, however, already been indicated by Professor Dover Wilson, who notes that Shakespeare holds a Platonic rather than an Aristotelian view concerning the substance of the heavenly bodies.²

Aristotle held that the heavens were composed of celestial matter, of a 'quintessence' or 'fifth essence' which was quite distinct from the four terrestrial elements of earth, air, fire, and water. According to Plato, however, the heavenly bodies are composed of the same elements as the earth, though the element of fire predominates in them. To Hamlet, the Platonic view seems self-evidently the true one, for when, at the opening of his verse letter to Ophelia he cries 'Doubt that the stars are fire',³ he relegates the Aristotelian quintessence to the realms of the improbable.

It is to the continuous European Platonic tradition that we should go for the antecedents of Shakespeare's thought. Let us remind ourselves, very briefly, of the outline.

The thought of the early Middle Ages is a Christianised form of Platonism, deriving, at first, mainly from the Fathers, particularly St Augustine, and later from other sources of which Chalcidius' Latin version of the *Timaeus* is one of the most important. The early medieval Platonism might be said to culminate in the great School of Chartres, which is only now beginning fully to reveal the treasures of its thought as early commentaries on the *Timaeus* come to light. Into this medieval Platonic Christian world there comes, in the twelfth century, Aristotle as preserved and commented by the Arabs. At first viewed with deep distrust, Aristotle is eventually assimilated, thanks largely to the genius of the great schoolmen Albertus Magnus and St Thomas Aquinas. Yet the Aristotelian domination was never complete.⁴ The Platonic tradition continued to maintain itself⁵ and was nourished by its association with Christian mysticism. St Augustine and Pseudo-Dionysius, those Neo-Platonic Christian mystics, continue to receive the profound respect of Christendom throughout the Aristotelian era, and they exert a modifying influence upon the Aristotelianism of Aquinas himself.

Further it is important from the English, and therefore from the Shakespearean, point of view to remember that Oxford was never so completely gained over to Thomist Aristotelianism as was Paris. Oxford remains faithful to Augustinianism in theology throughout

the Middle Ages, and she also preserved and developed the Platonic traditions of the School of Chartres after these had been thrown somewhat into the shade in France by the rise of the great Peripatetic schools in Paris.⁶ Of course Aristotelianism flourishes at Oxford as everywhere else during this period, but it is modified by a peculiarly strong survival of Platonism.

At the Renaissance, Plato comes into his own again.

It is now beginning to be realised how great a debt the Platonism of the Renaissance owed to the medieval Platonic tradition of which it was the continuation and the expansion. Whilst it is true that the Greek studies and discoveries of the humanists played a tremendous part in enlarging the available knowledge of the works of Plato and his successors, yet the great motive force of Renaissance Platonism flows into it from its roots in the whole tradition of Western thought, both philosophical and religious.

It begins to appear that one of the factors in the Renaissance is a kind of 'renaissance' of early medieval Platonism. Thus Nicholas of Cusa, who is so often hailed as one of the earliest 'modern' philosophers of the Renaissance, and who prepared the way for Copernicus by his teaching on the movement of the earth, is found to have owned many medieval Latin Platonic manuscripts and to have been profoundly influenced by the masters of Chartres.⁷ Nor were the Renaissance Platonists themselves unaware of their place in the great tradition; on the contrary they proudly claim it. Thus Marsilio Ficino, the humanist translator of Plato and the head of the Florentine Platonic Academy, gives, in a letter to a friend, a brief account of the Platonic tradition and of his own place in it. He begins with Pseudo-Dionysius and St Augustine; mentions Boethius, Chalcidius, Macrobius; then passes to medieval thinkers such as Avicbron, Henry of Ghent, Duns Scotus; and comes finally to modern times with Bessarion, Nicholas of Cusa, and himself.⁸ Had these words of Ficino's received more attention, the error of supposing any irretrievable break in the continuity of the Platonic tradition might have been avoided.

We will now take the non-Aristotelian notion which we have quoted from Shakespeare – namely Hamlet's assumption that it is absurd to doubt that the stars are made of fire – and collect a few traces of its appearances and reappearances in the history of Western Platonism.

The Fathers of the Church, with the doubtful exception of St Basil, do not appear to have adopted the Aristotelian division of the elements into sublunary and celestial.⁹ The most scientific and

most influential of them, St Augustine, whenever he alludes to a physical theory always adopts the Platonic and not the Peripatetic view. It is therefore not surprising to find that St Augustine, following Plato, composes the stars of fire.¹⁰

The Venerable Bede accepts the science of the Fathers, and for him the heaven is of a 'subtle and igneous' nature.¹¹

John Scotus Erigena, in the ninth century, has more authorities than Bede to draw upon, for he knows Chalcidius and Pseudo-Dionysius. For him, the four terrestrial elements form also the heaven and the heavenly bodies.¹²

For St Anselm (1033-1109) the sun, the stars, and most of the planets are globes of fire.¹³

The masters of the School of Chartres are unanimously Platonic on this question. For example, William of Conches believes that the stars are composed of the same four elements as earthly objects, with fire and air predominating in their composition.¹⁴ William of Conches was the author of a commentary on the *Timaeus*, which was read in the schools of Chartres until about 1255 when it was superseded by the Aristotelian corpus.¹⁵

The medieval Aristotelians, with St Thomas Aquinas at their head, are practically unanimous in making, like Aristotle, some essential distinction between the celestial substance and the four sublunary elements. But they argue inexhaustibly as to what the nature of the celestial substance is, and there are innumerable subtle variations in their attitude to the problem.¹⁶ St Bonaventura makes the cleavage between celestial and terrestrial less radical than St Thomas Aquinas; Duns Scotus still further softens the distinction, which with William of Ockham has almost disappeared (the two latter were Oxford thinkers). Nevertheless, in spite of these important variations, it is broadly speaking true to say that in medieval Peripateticism the differentiation between the celestial quintessence and the terrestrial elements has replaced the older Platonic view.

Then comes Nicholas of Cusa and the beginnings of so-called 'Renaissance' philosophy.

Nicholas of Cusa effaces all distinction between terrestrial and celestial elements.¹⁷ For him, the earth is a body not essentially different from the sun, and if we could see it from a distance it would appear, he says, to shine like a star or sun. He thus formulates the idea that the universe is formed of the same materials throughout, a conception fundamental to modern scientific thought.¹⁸

Duhem pointed out that to find precursors for Nicholas of Cusa in this doctrine it is necessary to go back to the time before the schools began to be dominated by Peripatetic physics. 'It is to the masters of the older scholasticism, such as St Anselm, rather than to the doctors of Peripatetic scholasticism, that Nicholas of Cusa should be attached.'¹⁹ This suggestion is fully borne out by the more recent researches into Nicholas's sources which bring out his indebtedness to the medieval Platonists.²⁰ It is by the return to the 'Timaeon' physics, particularly on the nature of the elements and on the principle underlying their movements, that the way is prepared for Copernicus.

It will now be evident that Shakespeare's preference for a 'Timaeon' rather than an Aristotelian view of the substance of the heavenly bodies was an archaism which was at the same time 'modern'. When Hamlet says

Doubt that the stars are fire

he assumes that the Platonic view held by St Augustine and St Anselm (and never quite forgotten in medieval Oxford with its fidelity to the traditions of Chartres) is more self-evidently true than the Aristotelian teaching that the stars are composed of a 'quintessence'. When he continues

Doubt that the sun doth move

he seems to assume that the evidence of the senses which tells us that the sun moves across the heavens is more to be believed than the paradox (of which this line might suggest that he had heard) that the earth moves round the sun. (As Professor Dover Wilson says, 'The second line of this does not exclude Copernicus any more absolutely than the first excludes Aristotle.'²¹) Yet the very fact that Hamlet makes here his doubting enquiry into the movements of the heavenly bodies indicates that he may have been aware of the Copernican direction in which the revival of Platonism was moving. His third line, however, 'puts *all* in doubt':

Doubt truth to be a liar.

This seems to question the possibility of reaching any final truth by means of intellectual enquiry. In the fourth and concluding

line of this strange love-letter to Ophelia we have at last, after all the doubts, an affirmation:

But never doubt I love.

The negative character of Hamlet's philosophy helps rather than hinders the suggested link with the Platonic tradition as it emerges in Nicholas of Cusa. The great cardinal's most famous work is entitled *De docta ignorantia* (1440). In it he argues that since truth in its precision cannot be grasped by the finite intelligence, the wisest man is he who attains to 'learned ignorance'.²² The truth of things is impossible to attain in its purity; all philosophers have searched for it, but none have found it as it is. Therefore 'the more profoundly we are learned in this ignorance, the more we shall approach to truth itself.'

One might not inappropriately define Hamlet's whole state of mind as that of a condition of 'learned ignorance'. The four lines which we have taken as the text of this article are a characteristic illustration of the negative bias of his thought. The two propositions from natural philosophy which are put forward may both be doubted, and 'truth' itself is perhaps a liar. Hamlet would certainly subscribe to Nicholas of Cusa's statement that the human intellect can never grasp truth with precision.

Nicholas of Cusa imbibed this way of thinking from the mysticism of Pseudo-Dionysius, which teaches a negative way of reaching the divine and defines God by a 'negative theology'. The works of this Christian Neo-Platonist, written probably late in the fifth century AD, had an immense prestige in Christendom because they were believed to have been written by that 'Dionysius the Areopagite' whom St Paul met at Athens, and therefore to represent the mind of the apostolic age. The mysticism of the Middle Ages drank deep at this well, and the Renaissance Christian Platonists hailed Pseudo-Dionysius as one of the corner-stones of their philosophy, being a body of Christian Platonic teaching which they held in common with the saints of the Church. Ficino calls Pseudo-Dionysius 'the first of the Platonists',²³ and, in the Pre-Reformation English Renaissance, Dean Colet, the friend of Sir Thomas More, writes commentaries on his works.

It seems possible that the doubting darkness of Hamlet's mind might represent a mysticism of this negative kind. The atmosphere could have reached Shakespeare through the native English Pre-Reformation mystical tradition, of which one might take the

anonymous *Cloud of Unknowing* (fourteenth century) as typical. Here is taught the fundamental distinction between the intellect and the will, and that the direction of the will towards love reaches a certainty beyond that reached by the direction of the intellect towards knowledge. The disciple is to engage in a negative process with regard to the intellect, but in the midst of his 'cloud of unknowing' he is to set his will towards a 'blind stirring of love'.²⁴ It is not, I think, entirely fanciful to see in Hamlet's letter to Ophelia, with the intellectual 'unknowing' or 'learned ignorance' of the first three lines, and the firm though blind direction of the will in the fourth line, the influence of a contemplative tradition of this kind. The Platonic revival of the Renaissance emphasised and expanded the Pseudo-Dionysian mysticism no less than the Timaeian philosophy. Since we find the latter influence certainly in Shakespeare, it would be natural to look in him for the former also.

These are problems which await the careful attention of Shakespearean scholars, and it may well be that from such study may emerge the discovery that Shakespeare's poetry had for his contemporaries, who felt all around them the atmosphere of these traditions in ways which it is difficult for us to recapture, meanings quite different from those which modern readers have seen in it.

As in the case of the natural philosophy, so in the case of the mysticism, one must look, not only for the medieval current but also for its Renaissance expansion. In the thought of Ficino the distinction between 'intellect' and 'will (love)', upon which the mystical Middle Ages had pondered, is developed with a wealth of argument which is enriched by his knowledge of works of Plato not known in the Middle Ages. For example that passage in the *Symposium* in which love is described as the teacher of all the arts²⁵ is expanded by Ficino as an illustration of the superiority of the intuitive power of love over the reasoning power of intelligence.²⁶ This reminds one of Berowne's famous speech in *Love's Labour's Lost* in praise of love as the supreme teacher.²⁷ There is no doubt that the whole of that speech ought to be closely compared with Ficino's commentary on the *Symposium*; and it would indeed be natural to look in this play, which is about an Academy,²⁸ for traces of Renaissance academic mysticism. It begins to seem possible that the anti-intellectual moral of *Love's Labour's Lost*, which Hamlet's love-letter to Ophelia reproduces in miniature, might be traceable to mystical currents of this kind.

It may be that when Shakespeare's Platonism is compared with

that of the Florentine Academy (and so far as I know this has never been seriously attempted) it will be found that, whilst the influence of the latter reached Shakespeare in a general way, with perhaps some particularised knowledge, there is little trace in his poetry of those fully developed Neo-Platonic doctrines which Ficino and his friends derived from the newly recovered texts of the works of Plotinus and others. Shakespeare, as we know, was no Greek scholar, and his 'Platonism' is perhaps mainly the development of those lines of 'Timaeian' and mystical thought, which he would hardly think of as 'Platonic' but as 'native' and 'natural', rooted in the English soul, and which, under the radiant Italianate influence, would pour forth their heavenly harmonies in renewed splendour.

Probably the main channel through which the influences of the Florentine Academy would have reached Shakespeare is through the early English Renaissance, led by Sir Thomas More and his friends, who were deeply read in Pico della Mirandola and Ficino. Had their work continued undisturbed, the synthesis of the new Greek learning with the native philosophical and religious traditions might have reached Shakespeare in a more complete form. But it did not continue undisturbed, and the last stage of an enquiry into the Platonic tradition in England in its relation to Shakespeare ought to deal with the state of philosophical learning in this country in Shakespeare's own life-time.

It is here that the study of the works which the Italian philosopher Giordano Bruno wrote in England between 1583 and 1585 (which covers the years from nineteen to twenty-two in Shakespeare's life) proves very illuminating. Bruno represents the latest phase of the Platonic tradition.²⁹ He was the avowed disciple of Nicholas of Cusa, from whose *De docta ignorantia* he constantly quotes, and of Copernicus. In the *Cena de le ceneri* he uses arguments from the *Timaeus* in his attack on the Aristotelian physics,³⁰ and these form the starting-point of his attempts to construct his 'new philosophy'. Like other early Copernicans, it is to the authority of Pythagoras, and of Plato, that he appeals for support for the new theory. Amongst those who, before him, have taught that the earth moves he names, not only the pre-Socratic Pythagoreans, the 'divine Cusanus', and Copernicus, but also Plato himself who, he says, taught in the *Timaeus* that the earth moves, 'though timidly and vaguely, because with him it was a matter of faith rather than of knowledge.'³¹ He thus tries to make a potential Copernican of Plato, through appealing to the

doubtful passage in the *Timaews* on earth movement.³² In fact the *Cena de le ceneri*, fantastic tragi-comedy though it is, might be regarded as, in places, essentially a commentary on the *Timaews* written by a sixteenth-century disciple of Nicholas of Cusa and of Copernicus, and as such it is in direct line of succession to the long European tradition.

Nor is Bruno unaware of his place in this tradition; nor does he disavow it. When he visited Tudor Oxford, expecting to find there men bred in those Platonic studies which had flourished in England from the days of Bede to those of Thomas More, he found instead men who had substituted the modern linguistic studies for the old philosophical tradition³³ and who seemed to have forgotten the old interests. Their Latin and Greek was as pure as he had found anywhere, but what amazed and disquieted him was that they 'made a boast of being totally different from their predecessors who, caring little for eloquence and the niceties of grammar, were all intent on those kinds of speculation which these men call Sophisms.' But he (Bruno) esteems 'much more highly the metaphysics of those bygone students . . . than anything that these of the present age have to show, for all their Ciceronian eloquence and rhetorical art.'³⁴ It appears that these Tudor humanists, whilst despising their predecessors for their 'barbarous' Latinity, reduced their philosophical studies to a rigid adherence to the text of Aristotle.³⁵ Their 'Aristotelianism' was thus far more reactionary and obscurantist in character than anything that medieval Oxford had known. And it is against this 'modern' Aristotelianism that Bruno fulminates, whilst he regrets the disappearance of those 'bygone students' who, 'although their language was barbarous and they were friars by profession', laid down principles from which was derived 'the splendour of a most rare and noble part of philosophy, now in our times almost extinct'.³⁶

The great interest of Bruno's visit is that it exhibits the reactions of the England of Shakespeare's youth to a philosophy which, although novel and startling in many ways, yet publicly avowed its continuity with (and respect for) medieval thought. To the Aristotelians of the new Oxford who, unlike Shakespeare, possessed some Greek and much Latin,³⁷ Bruno's teaching seems like a dangerous attempt to bring into credit again the old 'barbarous' and 'Papist' kind of learning. But though these reject him, there are people in England who listen to him with attention and respect, and these are the poets and courtiers, particularly Sir Philip

Sidney, leader of the English poetic Renaissance, to whom several of Bruno's dialogues are dedicated. I would therefore suggest that Bruno's works provide a unique opportunity of noting how the current of 'holy philosophy' has left the ancient channels in which it used to run and is passing into the poetry.

Not only does Bruno defend the old philosophical tradition from the contempt of the Tudor universities. Penetrated through and through with the Dionysian mysticism, he defends also the old contemplative tradition from the contempt of the Tudor church.³⁸ He urges upon poets the duty of continuing that tradition through the present evil times, and in his *Eroici furori* (1585, dedicated to Sidney) he shows how the imagery of the *Canticle* may be translated into the imagery of the Petrarchan sonnet sequence so that the latter becomes a veiled record of spiritual experience.³⁹ The possibility therefore suggests itself that if Elizabethan philosophical poetry may be the heir to a Platonic tradition which had left the universities, Elizabethan love poetry may be the spiritual heir of the ruined abbeys and monasteries. The philosophical and contemplative sides of the Platonic tradition (so inextricably mingled) would thus both be exemplified in the philosophical Hamlet's 'negative' love-letter to Ophelia.

The influence of Bruno upon Shakespeare which has long been justifiably suspected, particularly in *Hamlet* and in *Love's Labour's Lost*, must be placed in its true perspective. Whilst Bruno has been claimed as a 'modern' philosopher, he does not represent a completely revolutionary break with the medieval past, and such is therefore not the character of his possible influence on Shakespeare. Rather is he the last link in the chain by which the Platonic tradition can be traced up to, and including, the age of Shakespeare.

Down this huge vista of time from Pythagoras to Shakespeare there come floating ideas and images which each passing generation has enriched with its own meditation and experience. It may be that one of the most fruitful ways of studying the great poet will be to trace the historical processes by which his philosophical outlook and much of his imagery reach him via that great tradition which, inseparably bound up as it is with the religious heritage, has spoken to mankind always of the best and highest things.

ITALIAN TEACHERS IN ENGLAND

JOHN FLORIO'S FATHER*

STUDIOUS, GENTLE, and most cruelly sacrificed to the religious disquietudes of her times, Lady Jane Grey might stand as an allegorical figure representing the Puritan version of the Renaissance learned lady, or the archaic, pre-Elizabethan, version of Italianate culture in England. Her Italian teacher, Michelangelo Florio, whose *Regole de la lingua thoscana* Giuliano Pellegrini here publishes for the first time, was an Italian Protestant refugee who, as teacher of his native language in England, began a family tradition which his son, John Florio, was to carry on in the next generation as the chief disseminator of Italian language and culture to the Elizabethans. The text here published is thus a landmark in the history of Italian studies in England, and Dr Pellegrini has performed a service in making it available.

In his introduction, Dr Pellegrini gives an account of the life and other works of Michelangelo which, though it does not add anything new to our knowledge (he has followed in the main the first chapter of my *John Florio* to which he makes kind and generous acknowledgment), is adequate for his purpose. He rightly stresses the interest of the little volume containing the life of Lady Jane Grey and translations into Italian of her letters and speeches (M. A. Florio, *Historia de la vita et de la morte de*

* Review of Giuliano Pellegrini, 'Michelangelo Florio e le sue *Regole de la lingua thoscana*', from *Studi di filologia italiana*, XII, 1954; published in *Italian Studies*, X, 1955.

l'illustriss. Signora Giovanna Graia, etc., 1607) and remarks that insufficient notice has been taken of it by historians. On this point, however, a new contribution to our knowledge of Michelangelo Florio has been made in recent years, though in a book which Dr Pellegrini may well be excused for having missed since it is not a study of Lady Jane but of the activities abroad of the left-wing Protestants who quitted England on the accession of Catholic Mary – the group with which Michelangelo Florio had thrown in his lot in England and whose exodus, early in 1554, he joined.

In *The Marian Exiles, A Study of the Origins of Elizabethan Puritanism*, Cambridge University Press, 1938, Miss C. H. Garrett drew on her researches into unpublished documents at Strasbourg and other Protestant centres to build up a new picture of the groups of exiles from Mary's regime in those places. She showed that they were very highly organised, using as models for their communities the groups of foreign Protestant refugees in London in the time of Edward VI – one of which, the Italian community, had been under the ministry of Michelangelo Florio. And she argued that these efficient and well-educated refugees developed, perhaps for the first time, the technique of organising printed propaganda against a regime from centres outside its sphere of influence.

We know from his *Apologia* that it was to Strasbourg that Michelangelo Florio went on leaving England, but Miss Garrett prints (*Marian Exiles*, p. 363) a document from archives at Strasbourg confirming his presence there in July 1554. She also found his name in a list in the Württemberg State Archives at Stuttgart as one of those who received some of the present of money sent by Duke Christopher of Württemberg to be distributed among the English exiles in Strasbourg in January, 1555 (*ibid.*, pp. 155, 364; Miss Garrett informed me that copies or other versions of these lists, one of them containing Michelangelo Florio's autograph, are in the Bodleian, Autographs I, R.Pal., fol. 180 and MS German, C.10, but I have not myself examined these documents). Florio received the relatively large sum of 20 florins because he had a 'weib und kind' (*Marian Exiles*, p. 155). Miss Garrett assumes that the 'kind' was John Florio. If so, this would be the first recorded mention of John, and the Duke of Württemberg the first of his many patrons. Incidentally this fits in well with my suggestion (*John Florio*, p. 20) that the Duke of Württemberg helped to finance John's education.

Strasbourg was a particularly hot centre for the press campaigns by the refugees against Catholic England. There John Foxe produced, in 1554, a first version of his *Acts and Monuments* with a dedication to the Duke of Württemberg, which may have elicited the Duke's contribution to the support of the exiles in Strasbourg (*Marian Exiles*, p. 156). Thus John Florio may have owed his first patron to Foxe's famous *Book of Martyrs*. In Strasbourg also at the same time, John Ponet, whose *Catechism* Michelangelo Florio had translated into Italian, was writing a very important statement of the Puritan case (*Marian Exiles*, p. 156 and see also C. H. Garrett, 'John Ponet and the Confession of the Banished Ministers', *Church Quarterly Review*, 1943-4). And in Strasbourg too John Banks and James Haddon – the latter formerly tutor and chaplain to Lady Jane Grey and mentioned by Florio in his life of her as one of the sources of his information – were agitating for the publication of Lady Jane's papers which they had brought with them from England and which were clearly the same as those printed in Italian translations in Florio's volume on Lady Jane (*Marian Exiles*, pp. 78-9, 169-70). These papers were also published by Foxe in the later editions of the *Acts and Monuments* (see the 1877 edition, VI, pp. 415-22), who probably also obtained them when at Strasbourg at the same time as Banks and Haddon.

Thus Florio's *Vita di Giovanna Graia* and its appendices emerge as typical of material against Mary's regime being prepared by the refugees at Strasbourg about 1554. (Why it was not published until 1607 remains a mystery.) Through it we catch a glimpse of Florio active in extremist propaganda with the English refugees, just as later on he was active amongst the Italian refugees in the Alpine valleys in the movement which Professor Delio Cantimori has studied in his admirable book, *Eretici italiani del cinquecento* (1939).

The Marian exiles on their return to England under Elizabeth made full use of their experience in press propaganda to exert an influence disproportionate to their numbers, and it was to his father's connections with this powerful group that John Florio owed his openings in England. The dedication to the ultra-Protestant heroine and martyr, Lady Jane Grey, of Michelangelo Florio's 'Rules of the Tuscan Tongue' is thus symptomatic of the peculiar politico-religious flavour of the Italian-English culture which John Florio inherited, though he was to modify and adapt it to suit the temper of his own times.

Dr Pellegrini devotes some pages at the end of his introduction

to placing the 'Rules' in their linguistic context. He thinks that the work owes little to William Thomas's *Rules of the Italian Grammar*, the only previous treatise of the kind in England, but has been mainly influenced by Bembo's *Prose della volgar lingua*. The parallels between Bembo and Florio which he quotes seem to prove his point conclusively. One could have wished that he had carried this section of his introduction a little further; it would have been interesting, for example, to have had a comparison by an expert between Michelangelo's grammar-teaching and that of his son John in his *First Fruits* and *New World of Words*. And there are various points in the text of the 'Rules' upon which one would have welcomed an explanatory note, for example the use of 'number, measure, and weight' (p. 106 ff.) in relation to the Italian language. One is reminded that Lady Jane, describing to Roger Ascham as he reports in his *Schoolmaster*, the treatment she received from her abominable parents, told him that in their presence she had to do everything 'in such weight, measure, and number, even so perfectly as God made the world; or else I am so sharply taunted, so cruelly threatened, yea presently sometimes with pinches, nips, and bobs . . . so without measure misordered, that I think myself in hell.' Her only escape from this parental hell, she says, is in her studies, and we may hope that the poor girl found that escape with her Italian tutor.

Dr Pellegrini has made the manuscript of the 'Rules' in the Cambridge University Library (dedicated to Henry Herbert and dated 1553) the basis of his text, but prints also the dedication to Lady Jane from the British Museum manuscript. His text seems scrupulously accurate, nor have I noted any errata in his introduction, save that the date of J. Eliot's *Parlement of Pratlers*, quoted on p. 79, should be 1593, not 1553.

ITALIAN TEACHERS IN ELIZABETHAN ENGLAND*

I

The learning of languages was more essential to the Elizabethan than to the modern Englishman for the simple reason that in those days English was a language spoken only in England. Therefore an Elizabethan who wished to travel, to do business with another

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country, or to keep up to date with the thought of the world by reading new books was obliged to know at least one other modern language besides his own. The small scope of English in those days is well illustrated by the following scrap of conversation from one of Florio's dialogues:

What thinke you of this English tongue, tel me, I pray you?

It is a language that wyl do you good in England, but passe Douer it is woorth nothing.

It is not used then in other countreyes?

No, sir; with whom wyl you that they speake?

With English marchants.

English marchantes, when they are out of England, it liketh them not and they doo not speake it.¹

The result was that Englishmen were forced to be better linguists than they are now. When Giordano Bruno was in England, between 1583 and 1585, he thought it unnecessary to learn English because he found that most Englishmen who were sufficiently cultivated to be interested in his ideas could also speak, or at least understand, some other language than their own. This is what he says on the subject in one of his dialogues. (He refers to himself under the name of 'The Nolan'.)

And he asked him if he understood English. The Nolan replied that he did not, which was the truth.

All the better for him; because he would be more likely to hear unpleasant than pleasant things. It is an advantage to be really deaf from necessity at times when one might choose to be deaf to what one does not want to hear. But I could easily believe that the Nolan does understand English, and pretends to ignorance of it in order to avoid rude encounters and to philosophise in silence concerning the habits of those whom he meets.

Do not imagine such a thing of him; because although he has been in this country for nearly a year, he can only understand two or three of the commonest words, which he knows are salutations, though he is not clear as to their exact meaning; and if he tries to utter one of them himself, he finds that he cannot.

Why does he make so little effort to learn our language?

Nothing tempts or obliges him to do so; because all

gentlemen of any rank with whom he holds conversations can speak Latin, French, Spanish, or Italian. They are aware that the English language is used only in this island and they would consider themselves barbarians if they knew no other tongue than their own.²

How did the Elizabethans attain to this high level of proficiency in the tongues? It was part of the education of persons of rank to travel, to go on the Grand Tour, and travelling is, of course, the best way of all to pick up a language. But not all could travel, and even those who did found it advisable to know something of the language of the countries to which they were going before they started. The schools and universities made no provision for teaching any but the ancient tongues. Modern languages were therefore an 'extra' which had somehow to be acquired quite independently of any regular academic curriculum. This gave rise to a considerable demand in England for teachers of modern languages, particularly French and Italian.

Fortunately there was a large supply of native teachers available, for that age, like our own, was an age of refugees. There were numbers of French and Italian Protestants in London, exiles from their countries on account of their religion, and many of these earned their living by teaching. Some of them opened private schools at which modern languages, as well as Latin and the other usual school subjects, were taught. Others, and these were by far the greater number, either became private tutors in noble or rich families, or gave lessons at so much an hour to as many pupils as they could find, or combined both those forms of teaching activity. This second class – I mean the private teachers and tutors – is much the most important from the point of view of Italian teaching, but I should like just to say a word or two first about the schools.

There were quite a few of these private schools, opened by the foreign refugees in the City of London, mostly in the neighbourhood of St Paul's Churchyard.³ Students could attend them at regular hours upon payment of so much a week. They were, I imagine, the first private schools in England to be run on a profit-making basis. The refugees who opened schools of this kind were nearly all Frenchmen (I have not been able to discover any case of an Italian doing so), but I think that Italian as well as French was taught in some, or at any rate in one of them. The most celebrated and successful school of this kind was the one

kept by a certain Claudius Hollyband.⁴ Hollyband published several textbooks for the teaching of French, and he also published two such books for the teaching of Italian. It is that fact which makes one think that Italian was almost certainly one of the subjects which he taught, or had taught, in his school. The first of Hollyband's Italian textbooks is called *The pretie Historie of Arnalt & Lucenda . . . with certen Rules and Dialogues set foorth for the learner of th' Italian tong*. It was published in 1575, and there was another edition in 1597 in which the order of contents is reversed and the title altered to *The Italian schoole-maister . . . contayning Rules for the perfect pronouncing of the Italian tongue: With familiar speeches. . . . And a fine Tuscan historie called Arnalt & Lucenda*. Hollyband also published in 1583 a work called *Campo di Fior, or else the flourie field of foure languages of C. Desainliens, alias Holiband, for the furtherance of the learners of the Latine, French, English, but chiefly of the Italian tongue*. This book consists of some of the Latin dialogues of Ludovicus Vives⁵ translated into French, English, and Italian and printed in all four languages in four parallel columns. This habit of printing dialogues in two or more languages in parallel columns is a very common Elizabethan language-teaching method, and we shall shortly meet it again. All this shows, I think, that Hollyband, although a Frenchman and interested primarily in the teaching of French, took some thought also for Italian and doubtless made it one of the subjects taught in his school. Possibly some of the other schools kept by Frenchmen also had Italian in their time-tables, but of that there is no certain evidence.

But from the point of view of the teaching of Italian these schools were of infinitely less importance than the private teacher or tutor. There must have been a considerable number of Italians in Elizabethan England earning their living in such a manner. Of many of them the name and fame has perished utterly. Of some we know the name and perhaps a little more besides.⁶

One of Queen Elizabeth's Italian masters (the Queen was, of course, noted for her proficiency in Italian) was called Baptista Castiglione.⁷ A certain Giacomo Castelvetro taught Italian to James I.⁸ But there is one of these refugee Italian teachers about whom a good deal is known and who has other claims to fame besides his career as a teacher. In John Florio's Italian-English textbooks we can study his methods of teaching;⁹ and it is these books which are our principal source of information as to the teaching of Italian in Elizabethan England. We are therefore jus-

tified in confining our attention to Florio, provided that we remember that there were other teachers and that their methods probably very much resembled his.

Florio was an Italian Protestant refugee of the second generation, his father having also settled in England. He is, of course, famous for his great English translation of Montaigne, one of the greatest of the Tudor translations.¹⁰ That work is an English classic, and when we remember that Florio was an Italian, translating from a language not his own (French) into a language not his own we realise that we are now dealing with no ordinary teacher of the calibre of Hollyband and his like but with a very remarkable and unusual linguist, scholar and artist. His other great monumental work is his Italian-English dictionary or 'World of Words' as he called it. The first edition appeared in 1598 and the second and much enlarged edition in 1611. I suppose one might call Florio's dictionary the first great production of Italian-English scholarship. It was a work of extraordinary labour for one man to accomplish, almost unaided, and it is remarkable not only for its completeness on the Italian side but for the amazing wealth of its English vocabulary.

Florio was very much sought after as a teacher of Italian by all the greatest and most famous people in Elizabethan England. The list of his pupils covers the great names in almost every department of the life of the time. To aid him in his teaching work he wrote two Italian-English textbooks which he called respectively his *First Fruits* (published 1578)¹¹ and his *Second Fruits* (1591). These two books are very rare, a great many copies having apparently been destroyed in the Great Fire of London in 1666.¹² The books consist of dialogues arranged in parallel columns, the English in one column, the Italian beside it. The earlier dialogues are simple conversations reflecting everyday life in Elizabethan London. The later dialogues are more complicated and literary to meet the needs of more advanced students who had worked through the earlier part of the book. And at the end there are some grammar rules and helps to pronunciation. It is altogether a very useful and well-arranged book and was certainly widely used. I shall now quote the English side of two typical dialogues in order to illustrate Florio's methods. The first is called 'To speake with a damsel' and it provides pleasing practice in the use of the tenses:

Fayre mayde, wyll you that I loue you?

I cannot hold you that you loue not, if you wyl loue.

I haue loued you, I loue you, & wil loue you.
 I haue hated you, I hate you, & wyl hate you.
 What occasion haue I geuen you?
 I knowe not, but I cannot loue.
 I would it would please you to accept me for your seruant.
 I am not worthy to keepe such a seruant.
 Will you then accept mee for your husband?
 I cannot, and although I could, I will not, and if I woulde, I
 cannot neither.
 I cannot understand you.
 How can you not understand me?
 You speake so learnedly.

Another is entitled 'Familiar talke'. It gives rather an interesting impression of shopping and chat in the London streets:

When departeth the Post?
 It is said to morow.
 Are you sure?
 Not I.
 How know you that?
 I haue heard it said.
 And of whom?
 Of a Scriuener.
 Where haue you seene hym?
 In the Exchange.
 Haue you spoken with him?
 Three or foure tymes.
 And whither goeth he?
 He goeth to Antwerp & Bruges.
 And when wil he returne?
 It is not knowen.
 Who knoweth it?
 The marchants.
 Do marchants sende the Post away?
 Yea sir, alwayes.
 Haue you seene my seruant?
 Not to day, I saw him yesterday.
 Where saw you him?
 I saw hym in Paules.
 Shal we go to seeke hym?
 Where shal we seeke hym?

Throughout al London.
We shal not fynd him.

Florio published his second manual or *Second Fruits* thirteen years later in 1591. Again the book consists of dialogues in Italian and English printed side by side, and again the earlier dialogues are of a more popular character and the later ones more literary.

II

We can gain a fleeting, though perhaps rather prejudiced, glimpse of what Italian lessons based on manuals of this kind were like from the following remarks made by a certain John Eliot. Eliot was an Englishman who had lived long in France and had a very thorough knowledge of the French language. He is rather a mysterious person; I have a feeling that his real interests lay in politics and espionage, but ostensibly he was a teacher of French in London – differing from the other language teachers we have so far mentioned in being an Englishman. I am sorry to have to say so, but Eliot apparently did not like the foreign refugee teachers. The real reason for his objection to them was probably at bottom politico-religious; I suspect him of being an agent working for the submerged Catholic interests in England – whereas the foreign refugee teachers were, of course, Protestants. Anyhow, whatever the reasons for his ill-will, it took the form of a volume of French-English conversations which on the surface appears to be merely another of these harmless dialogue textbooks, but which is in reality a parody of the textbooks of the refugee teachers – Florio, Hollyband, and others – and an attack upon them. The book is called *Ortho-epia Gallica* and was published in 1591, and this is what Eliot says in it about the French and Italian refugee teachers and their lessons:

Heare me a word sir: you must haue a firme purpose and a resolution to prosecute your studies, and not to doe as many of our English doe commonly, who will begin one language to day, and another to morrow: then after they haue learned a *Comm' portez vous?* in French: a *Come state?* in Italian, and a *Beso las manos* in Spanish, they thinke themselues braue men by and by, and such fellowes as are worthie to be sent in ambassage to the great Turke.

You haue for all that in England others, gentlemen, who are greatly affected to the tongues, and some who speake them volubly and very fluently.

I haue yet seene very few of those.

You haue not haunted the Court, nor liued at London, where you may both see and heare them: and you shall find beside at London & in other places, many others who would be very glad to learne, if ther were any learned teachers to instruct them.

What say you man? London is full of Italians and Frenchmen, who teach their languages for wages in the Citie of London.

They Italians and French who teach heare, as some say who haue haunted with them, are a little too high minded, and doe not fit themselves long to the nature of us English.

Why say you so?

Because they are capricious and proud.

You do them wrong in saying so, in mine opinion: there is of them as of Englishmen, both good and bad. Condemne not all for one bad one, for there are very learned men and of great knowledge refugiate and retired to London for their consciences, who teach the languages, and such as deserue to be well paid for their paines.

There are amongst them to tell troth, some honest men, so also are there some wicked heads, I say beasts or serpents, who haue empoysoned by the venime of their skill our English nation, with the bookes of *Nicholas Machiauell*, and *Peter Aretine*, replenished with all filthinesse and vilanie, who deserue for their pains a few swings of the strapado, or some bastinadoes, and to be banished out of the kingdome of England. Such payment ought such pestiferous mates to receiue for their paines. Men should banish such plagues out of a Christian common-wealth.

You say true indeede, I haue bene scholer to one or two of them, but I like not their maner of teaching, for they will take mony before hand, and when they are paide, they care little for their scholers profit, to instruct them the rudiments of their tongue a little, which is no great peece of worke.

What is their order in teaching?

Tis only to read some halfe side, and to construe it, which is no great matter, and will not stay aboue halfe an hower to make a lecture, so that they do all things by the halfes.

It must be remembered that Eliot is a biased person, inspired by political and professional jealousy, and that these remarks are unfair. We shall correct this impression later by trying to show a little how enormous is the debt which the English language and literature owe to these refugee teachers. But in spite of its unfairness I quote it because it does give one a kind of picture of an Elizabethan Italian lesson and a pupil construing a 'half side' of one of Florio's manuals.

Eliot's second dialogue is called 'Of the dignitie of Orators, and excellencie of tongues'. This dialogue seems to be very little known; it was not reprinted in the *Parlement of Praters*,¹³ which consists of extracts from some of the *Ortho-epia Gallica*. Yet it is of great interest, for it passes in review all the languages of the world, both ancient and modern, mentioning the most noteworthy writers in each, and providing, as it were, a kind of bird's-eye view of literature as a whole as it would appear to an Elizabethan with some pretensions to culture. He begins with the Hebrew tongue and the sacred writings; passes from that to Syriac and Arabic; then comes to Greek and Latin; Italian and French; ending with short remarks about the Muscovite tongue, and even Japanese. He closes the whole rather strikingly as follows:

We haue today discoursed lustily of Languages, of Orators and Rhetoricians.

There are yet in the world so many other tongues, and so many famous Oratours, that a great volume would not suffise to set them all downe in order.

Truly, the glory and maiestie of man appeareth in nothing more then in his speech.

It is true, because that thereby he sheweth his reason, the light of his soule and body.

The Italian section in Eliot's survey of literature is worth quoting in full:

Who hath bene the most excellent Oratour in the Italian tongue?

Iohn Boccace, who wrot now a good while ago, but very finely and purely, as his *Decameron*, his *Fiametta*, his *Philocopo*, his *Labyrinth*, & other of his bookes loued by the children of this world do well witnesse.

Who are the best Tuscan or Florentine Poets?

These three which I will now name:

In the first place shall be the fine Poet *Francis Petrarke*, who wrote his Poesies since the time of *Iohn Boccace*, and hath inuented many trim words, and enriched his verses with infinit pretie deuises taken out of other Authours, and many deuised of his own wit also, beside he was very bold and hath some sonnets, chapters, and Cantoes altogether admirable.

What other Italian Poets will you name me?

Two onely, the one is *Lodouike Ariosto* of Ferrara, who hath published a Poeme called *Mad-Rowland*, in verses so sweet and full of delight, that all Italie hath them still in their mouth, full of passions in his discourses, & very pleasant by reason of the diuersitie of things that he reciteth, his fables being so cunningly disguised, that a man is mooued sometimes in reading of them, as if they were things truly come to passe, or at the least hauing some resemblance of truth.

Who is the other?

Torquato Tasso, a fine scholer truly, who is yet liuing, the last Italian Poet who 'is of any great fame in our age, but worthie of the first honour, besides that he is a diuine Poet, he is also a most eloquent Oratour and Rhetoricyan, as his missiue Epistles do shew very well. This Youth fell mad for the loue of an Italian lasse descended of a great house, when I was in Italie.

What other fine bookes hath he made?

Many: there are three Toomes of his workes printed at Ferrara, wherein there are diuers sorts of verses of all kinds of fine inuentions: a Commedie, a Tragedie, diuers Dialogues and discourses in Prose, all worthie the reading of the wisest and quickest spirits of Europe.

Is that all that he hath written?

No, for he hath the pen in hand euery day.

You haue forgotten his *Gierusalemme liberata*.

You say true, this child hath written in Heroicall verses one excellent Poeme amongst all other Italian Poesies, intituled as you say, wherein all the riches of the Greekes and Latines are gathered together and enchaced so cunningly past all others skill, with such grace, breuitie, grauitie, learning, liuelinesse, and viuacitie that is remarqued to haue bene in *Virgill* the Prince of Latine Poets.

That is rather an interesting little sketch of Italian literature as seen through Elizabethan eyes, and it shows the world of culture to which the possession of the Italian tongue introduced an English student.

III

There is an aspect of Florio's Italian lessons to which I want now rather particularly to draw attention. I think that Florio's two manuals are designed to assist not only the learner of Italian but the writer of English. The later and more advanced dialogues in both books consist of literary extracts chosen, I believe, from the point of view of style and arranged so as to be of assistance to an author writing in English who wished to embellish his discourse with Italianate ornament. Moreover, and this I think is significant, his tastes in style seem to change to suit the changing Elizabethan fashions. The *First Fruits* was published in 1578, the year in which *Euphues* appeared, and the English style which Florio seems to affect in that manual, and to wish his pupils to affect, is distinctly euphuistic. The *Second Fruits* appeared in 1591, just at the beginning of the great craze for writing sonnets, and in the last dialogue of that book Florio seems to have in mind the needs of potential writers of love poetry, and to be, as it were, supplying them with handy stocks of epithets and allusions. From all of which it is clear that Florio was more than a teacher of Italian – that he was in fact a channel through which the Italian influences reached English literature. We are all familiar in general and rather vague terms with the fact that English, and particularly Elizabethan, literature has been profoundly modified by the influence of Italy; and it seems to me that in Florio's dialogues one can observe some of the processes by which that influence made itself felt.

Let us consider these points rather more in detail for a while.

To take the *First Fruits* first. The later dialogues in that work consist of literary extracts (of course, given in both Italian and English). It is extremely interesting to find that by far the greater number of his quotations are taken from that book so famous in the sixteenth century, the *Libro aureo* written by the Spanish bishop, Antonio de Guevara. Florio's extracts from it in the *First Fruits* are quoted from the Italian version made by Portonaris da Trino, and the English version of these extracts which he supplies is entirely his own and quite independent of the well-known

English translations from Guevara made by Lord Berners and, later, by Sir Thomas North.

Now, the importance of this is that Guevara used to be regarded by some critics as an 'influence' on the formation of euphuism. Yet in all the discussions for and against that theory no mention at all was ever made – so far as I can discover – of Florio's use of Guevara in the *First Fruits*, although John Lyly's *Euphues* was actually published in the same year as Florio's manual and was, as a matter of fact, entered in the Stationers' Register three months *later* than the *First Fruits*. It is my belief that Florio's Italian lessons may have contributed something towards the formation of euphuism, and in order to make clear what that something may have been, I shall be obliged to recapitulate very briefly what has been said by various scholars concerning the origins of the euphuistic style.

It was F. Landmann who first pointed out, in 1882, that there is a certain similarity in style and subject matter between Guevara's *Libro aureo* and Lyly's *Euphues*, and he believed that it was the popularity of Guevara in England in the translations by Berners and North which laid the foundations of euphuism.¹⁴ This theory was at first hailed with enthusiasm, but later serious doubts were thrown upon it. One of the objections made was that although Guevara's balanced clauses and antitheses sometimes suggest Lyly's style, yet the Spaniard uses none of the alliteration which is so distinctive a feature of *Euphues*. And although there is sometimes a little alliteration in North's English translation of Guevara, it seems to be brought in casually and without any definite artistic plan. Thus neither Guevara's nor North's style is really the same thing as euphuism proper, with its elaborate schemes of sound-pattern and alliteration winding through sets of balanced clauses.

Of course, the style loosely known as euphuism is found in England long before Lyly, but what one may call the Lylian culmination of this style – the super-euphuism of *Euphues* itself – first appeared in the seventies of the sixteenth century.¹⁵ It was during this decade of the 1570s that the Italian influence in England was at its height, and V. M. Jeffery has shown in her study of Lyly that his mind was saturated with Italian reading.¹⁶ Miss Jeffery revives and elaborates a theory that the Elizabethan study of Italian literature might have influenced the euphuistic style, pointing out that 'Marinism' is the Italian form of the disease which gave us euphuism in England.

Now the fact that Florio quotes extensively in his *First Fruits*

from Guevara *in an Italian translation* seems to me to have a bearing upon all this. Florio in 1578 evidently regarded the study of Guevara in an Italian translation as the final polish for advanced Italian students. Florio's Italian lessons are a channel through which Guevara's influence could have reached England.

Moreover, and this is the really important point to which I have been trying to lead up, the English into which Florio translates his extracts from Guevara sounds much more like euphuism proper than does the English of North. Listen, for instance, to the following passage from the thirty-eighth dialogue of the *First Fruits*:

The saide Author speaking of Beautie.

A man very faire, is nought els but a shadow of a woman, and a woman verye fowle, is nought els, but a beaste of the mountaine. We that are Christians, ought litle to esteme corporal beautie, since that from it come many tymes gret deformities to the soule: under the Cristal yse, is the daungerous myre: within the wrought wall, is the cursed serpent nourished: within the white tooth, doth the importune woorme fret: in the finest cloath, doth the Moath great hurt, and the woorme also annoyeth the fruitful tree. His meaning is, that within the beautiful bodyes, & face of a pleasant countenance, are horrible vices hidden. Verily in youth, who are not very prudent, & somewhat light, the good disposition, & beauty of the body is nought els but the mother of many vices, & the ruine of al vertue. O worldly blyndnesse, O life that liueth not, O death that neuer hath ende, I know not by what reason any man dare vaine glorye of this vaine beautye, knowing that it is nought els but the fourme to fyll the graue, and that al the delicacie of his members, shall be in the handes of the hungry woormes.

If the very numerous alliterative effects in this passage are studied, it will be found that Florio is using alliteration not merely occasionally and accidentally, as does North, but with studied effort. He often goes most laboriously and even ludicrously out of his way to get such effects. By this means he succeeds in occasionally producing a sentence which is the purest euphuism. Guevara generally prefers subordinate to co-ordinate clauses, but when he does happen to use Lyly's favourite scheme – namely a set of co-ordinate clauses with carefully balanced antitheses –

Florio by adding to it in translation his alliterative pattern can produce such an effect as

under the christal ice, is the dangerous mire: within the
wrought wall, is the cursed serpent nourished: within the
white tooth, doth the importune worm fret: in the finest
cloth, doth the moth great hurt, and the worm also annoyeth
the fruitful tree.

Surely, if we were asked to guess the author of that sentence we should all reply 'John Lyly'.

The fact that Florio was teaching Italian at Oxford at about the time that most of the euphuists were at college is relevant to this argument. One of them, Stephen Gosson, was certainly a pupil of his; there are verses by him in the *First Fruits*. Surely it is a possibility that Florio's Italian lessons were fashionable with this group of young Oxford æsthetes and that we are here catching a glimpse of the Italian influence upon English literature doing its work.

I do not want to press this argument too far, or to assign to Florio and his *First Fruits* too great an importance. The taste for ornate style was already abroad in England and the Italian teacher was really meeting, rather than creating, the demand for it. If I have appeared to emphasise unduly his importance here, at the expense of the other elements which went to the formation of euphuism, it is because those other elements have been exhaustively studied, whereas Florio has been neglected in this connection.

If we turn now to the *Second Fruits*, published thirteen years later in 1591, we find that Florio has moved to keep up with the literary fashions. Euphuism was the rage of the 1570s: Petrarchism was to be the rage of the 1590s. His Oxford pupils of the 1570s had wanted Guevara and euphuisms. His London pupils of the 1590s wanted Petrarch and Sir Philip Sidney. Florio is ready to help them to the best of his ability.

The speakers in the last and longest dialogue of the *Second Fruits* are called Pandolpho and Siluestro, and they propound the arguments for and against love which were a commonplace of the Italian Renaissance. Siluestro speaks in favour of love; he is a Petrarchist and he makes long quotations from Petrarch and other Italian poets in support of his views. His speeches are stuffed with allusions to classical mythology of the kind which were to be so

popular amongst English writers of this decade. Pandolpho takes the cynical anti-Petrarchist view; his speeches are mostly a mosaic of proverbs against love and against women.

Now it is my belief that Florio deliberately designed the twelfth dialogue of the *Second Fruits* (which has been almost totally neglected by modern readers) as a kind of handy compendium of pro-love and anti-love arguments for the use of authors. He intends his book, he says, for 'those that embrace the language of the Muses, or would beautify their speech with a not vulgar bravery.' As a short example of the kind of material which he supplies I will quote the following:

Loue is the key-keeper of the world, as Orpheus says, not onely the auncientest, as Hesiodus shewes, but euen the God of Gods, as good Tasso setts downe in his creede: taking from Mars his sword, from Neptune his trident, and from Iupiter his thunderbolt, and (if I misse not my mark) from Homer his verse, and from Hercules his club.

It is a trite enough little compendium of mythological allusions, but if the student who wished to embrace the language of the Muses were rather unusually gifted, he might make something of it.

For valour, is not love a Hercules
Still climbing trees in the Hesperides

and

Never durst poet take a pen to write
Until his ink were tempered with love's sighs.

These have a very different ring from 'Love takes from Homer his verse and from Hercules his club', but the difference is only in the expression. The ideas are two of the commonplaces listed by Florio. I quote Shakespeare's rendering of these two commonplaces, not because I am trying to prove anything here concerning Florio and *Love's Labour's Lost*,¹⁷ but merely in order to show what someone who had rather a marked talent for beautifying his speech with a not vulgar bravery could do with the *kind* of material so conveniently placed at the disposal of poets by Florio.

At the beginning of the *Second Fruits* there is printed an original

sonnet in English, headed 'Phæton to his friend Florio'. It was evidently written by one of Florio's English friends and admirers, but he does not append his name and so remains unknown. Personally I believe that Samuel Daniel wrote it. But the interesting point about this sonnet is not so much who wrote it as the date at which it appeared in print – 1591 – that is to say *before* all the great Elizabethan sonnet cycles which followed Sidney's *Astrophel and Stella*. Apart from Sidney's, it must be one of the earliest Elizabethan sonnets to be printed – and it is printed in an Italian language textbook, which also contains a provision of raw material for sonneteers. Here again, it seems to me that we are tapping the Italian influence on English literature at its fountain-head. The sonnet runs as follows:

Phæton to his friend Florio

Sweet friend whose name agrees with thy increase,
 How fit a rival art thou of the Spring?
 For when each branch hath left his flourishing,
 And green-lockt Summer's shady pleasures cease:
 She makes the Winter's storms repose in peace,
 And spends her franchise on each living thing:
 The daisies sprout, the little birds do sing,
 Herbs, gums, and plants do vaunt of their release.
 So – when that all our English wits lay dead,
 (Except the Laurel that is ever green),
 Thou with thy fruits our barrenness o'er-spread,
 And yet thy flowery pleasance to be seen.
 Such fruits, such flowerets of morality,
 Were ne'er before brought out of Italy.

Again, I do not want to overstress this argument, nor to suggest that if Florio had not published his *Second Fruits* we should have had no Elizabethan sonnet-sequences. He was meeting, not creating, a demand, just as we suggested that he did in the case of the euphuists. But I do think that it is curious and significant that these language manuals should reflect the rhetorical fashions in this way and I have dwelt upon this subject at such length in order to try to show the kind of way in which the Elizabethan Italian lesson may have been more than a language lesson – may indeed have been a considerable factor in the moulding of our tongue and literature. The verbal embroideries of euphuism, the craze for the mythological ornaments of Petrarchism, both these fashions

played an enormous part in *exercising* the English language, in giving it a new suppleness and elasticity. The ornamental styles of the latter part of the sixteenth century were the drill through which the English language passed before it emerged into final maturity, and my point is that the Italian lesson – in the hands of a man of the calibre of John Florio – may have been a very useful part of that drill.

To sum up, then, in conclusion one may say that Italian was very vigorously taught and learnt in Elizabethan England, that the teachers were mainly (though not quite entirely) Italian natives of refugee origin, and that their lessons were an important channel by which the Italian influence reached England. A study of this kind makes one realise, I think, how much we Europeans are bound together by innumerable ties, how much we all owe to one another, and also how forgetful of past benefits and how ungrateful we are. It becomes us sometimes to remember with gratitude all that we owe to Italy and to those many Italians who have honoured and enriched us by their sojourn amongst us, not only in Elizabethan days, but many times before and since. And we may do so in the words with which Samuel Daniel thanked Florio for his dictionary.

I stand not to give praise before the face
 Of this great work, that doth itself commend:
 But to congratulate the good and grace
 That England comes thereby to apprehend:
 And in her name to thank your industry,
 Laborious Florio, who have so much wrought
 To honour her, in bringing Italy
 To speak her language, and to give her note
 Of all the treasure that rich tongue contains.

AN ITALIAN IN RESTORATION ENGLAND*

Giovanni Torriano, a teacher of Italian in seventeenth-century England, found himself greatly hampered in his work by the scarcity of Italian-English text-books owing to the huge destruction of books, including publishers' stocks, in the great Fire of London. He therefore found it necessary to produce in 1673 a

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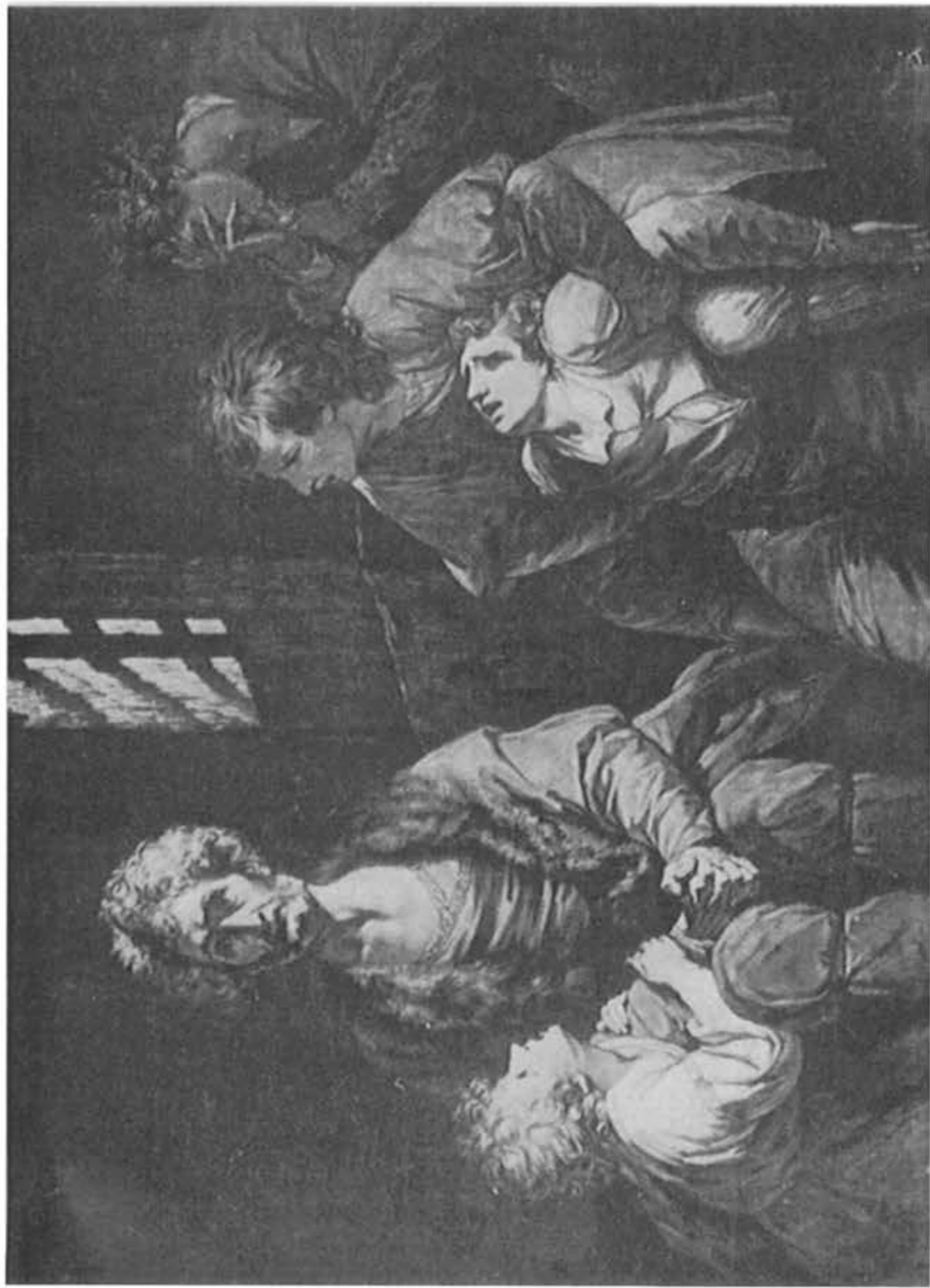


1(a) *above* Pierino da Vinci, *Ugolino and his Sons*, wax relief, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford (p.44)

1(b) *below, left*, *Ugolino and his Sons*, engraving after Pierino da Vinci's relief, 1782 (p.44)

1(c) *below, right* Detail of Pl. 1a, reversed (p.46)





2 Sir Joshua Reynolds, *Count Hugolino and his Children in the Dungeon*, 1773, Knole, Kent (p.46)



3(a) J.H. Fuseli, *Ugolino and his Children in the Hunger Tower*, engraved by Moses Haughton, 1811 (p.52)



3(b) *Count Ugolino and his Two Sons*, drawing, formerly Sir Robert Witt Collection, London (p.53)



3(c) Edouard de Biefve, *Ugolino and his Children*; exhibited Brussels 1836, engraving after the painting (p.56)



4(a) William Blake, 'Ugolino and Archbishop Ruggieri', illustration to Dante, *Inferno*, British Museum, London (p.53)



4(b) William Blake, 'Ugolino in the Hunger Tower', illustration to Dante, *Inferno*, British Museum, London (p.53)



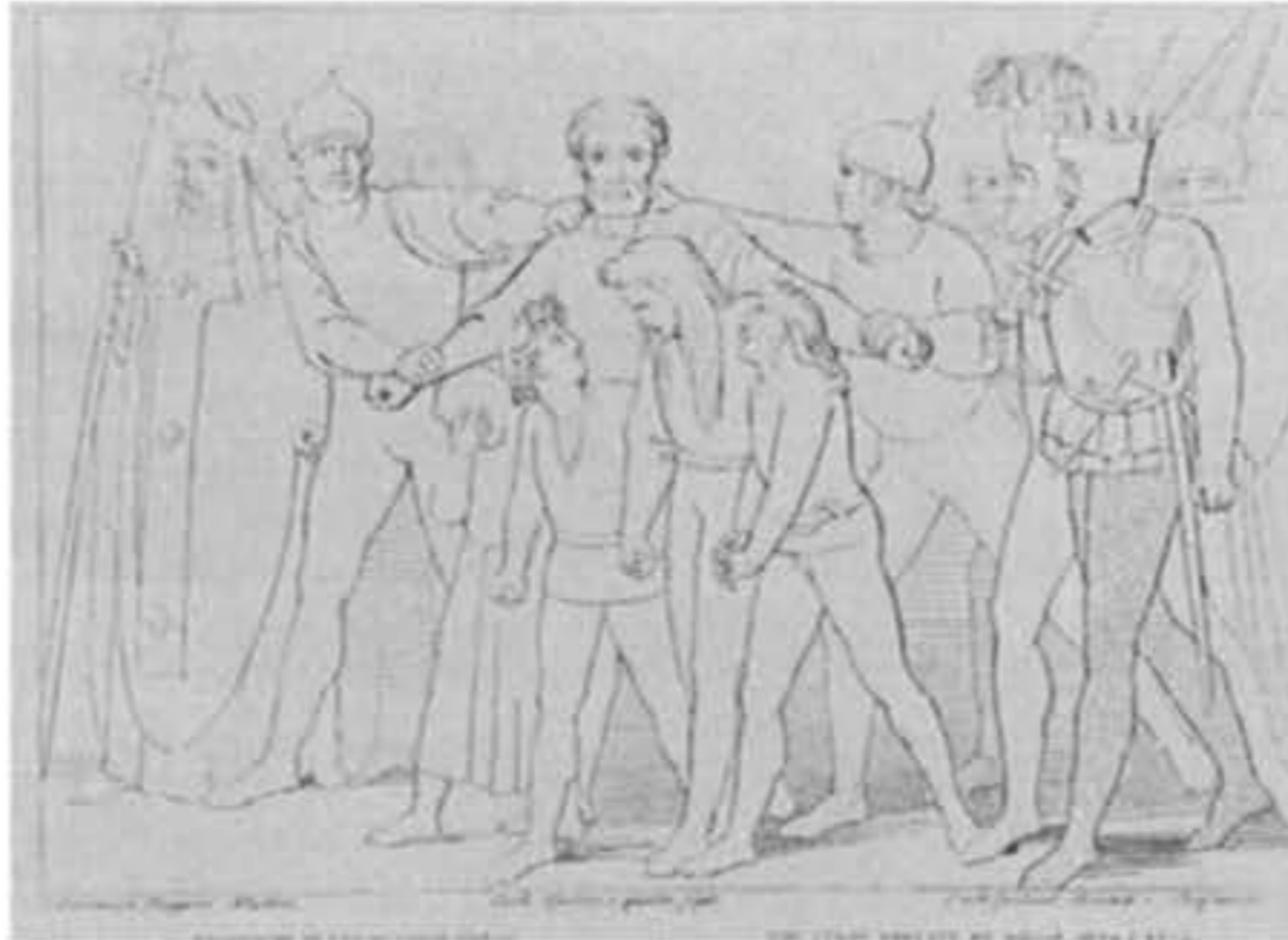
4(c) William Blake, 'Aged Ignorance', from *Gates of Paradise*, 1793 (p.54)



4(d) William Blake, *Portrait of Dante*, c. 1801, City Art Gallery, Manchester (p.55)



4(e) William Blake, 'Ugolino', from *Gates of Paradise*, 1793 (p.53)



5(a) John Flaxman, 'Ugolino Arrested', illustration to Dante, *Inferno*, 1792-7 (p.55)



5(b) *Laocöon* (detail), Vatican Museum (p.55)



5(c) John Flaxman, 'Death of Ugolino', illustration to Dante, *Inferno*, 1792-7 (p.55)



5(d) Eugène Delacroix, *Ugolino*, Ordrupgaardsamlingen, Charlottenlund (p.232 n.87)



5(e) Eugène Delacroix, *The Prisoner of Chillon*, Louvre, Paris (p.55)



6(a) Pietro Benvenuti, *Ugolino*, 1828, engraving after the painting (p.56)



6(b) Jean-Baptiste Carpeaux, *Ugolino and his Children*, bronze, c. 1861, Louvre, Paris (p.58)



6(c) Auguste Rodin, *Le Penseur*, Musée Rodin, Paris (p.58)

new textbook for the use of his pupils which he entitled *The Italian Reviv'd*.¹ In the preface he says:

Had not the late dismal Fire destroyed all the Printed Books which concern the Italian, as to Grammer or Dictionary, (the Book-Trade in general having suffered irreparable loss, above any other whatsoever,)² and I myself in particular being involved in the same Fate, as it is well known to many, made a considerable sufferer;³ there would have been no need for one while of more Books of that nature; but for want of them, the Italian declining, and almost expiring, I thought it necessary to revive it in time.

The book consists of a grammar which is an abridgment of the one which Torriano had prefixed to the new edition of John Florio's dictionary which he published in 1659;⁴ of a set of dialogues useful for Englishmen travelling in Italy which, though described as 'new' on the title-page, are dated in the advertisement prefixed to them as having been written in 1657;⁵ of some easy Italian extracts for reading practice;⁶ and, finally, of another set of dialogues, newly written to give freshness to the book, and to which Torriano imparts a topical interest by causing 'the Colloquutors to speak of the Re-Building of the City of London, and some other signal Places of England, occasionally and cursorily touching upon them, not pretending to describe them or set them out as they deserve, for that would require a far better Pen than mine, and another kind of Stile, than what is usual in Dialogues.'⁷

An Italian and an Englishman take a walk through London, then in the throes of rebuilding after the Fire. The Italian observes that the city now appears 'with a greater and more sublime splendor, than before, by the addition of many Streets and Lanes; again, also by the contiguity, variety, and thickness of Houses, Courts and Markets, from place to place, very well contrived and ordered, it makes a better show.' The new city might be termed, he says, 'a Phenix, having been burnt down, and afterwards sprung up from its own ashes, so that the whole World doth ring of it.'⁸ They gaze upon the restored Royal Exchange with its pillars within and without, nooks for statues, walks full of shops, and 'Stairs which hang as by Geometry'.⁹ They hear the bells ringing from its tower. 'The highest of all warns the Merchants to meet upon the Place, and after an hour to be gone again as soon as may be, which is done in a trice.' And the rest 'serve for pleasure,

chiming at set hours, like unto Hymns or a most regular consort of Musick.' The Italian remarks that 'Here will alwaies be a great concourse of Strangers for to see these wonders, which delight and entertain a Stranger; the eye is pleased beyond measure, and the ear too.'¹⁰ He might well feel quite at home at the Exchange for he would hear his own tongue being spoken all around him. Torriano observes in the preface that 'of late there are more part of Italians come over than usual; so that the Practick of speaking may go on almost as well as if it were in Italy; by meeting upon the *Royal Exchange* at the usual hours.' After examining the cranes installed by the East India Company for moving consignments of pepper from the cellars ('a prety devise they have to let them down, and hale them up with dexterity not to be exprest'),¹¹ they bend their steps towards the site of St Paul's:

- It.* In time the Cathedrall will be built up, with the Parochiall Churches.
- En.* Already several Models have been made of it, by special order of *Dr. Ch. Wren* chief Surveyor of his Majesties Palaces, Country Houses, and other Buildings, belonging to his Majestie; a very eminent person in Architecture, and it is thought that within the space of seven years it will be finisht.¹²

Next they speak of the Guildhall, now completely repaired and adorned with portraits of the judges who had settled the property disputes arising out of the Fire. These are described as twelve in number, all drawn to the life and set up six of a side, 'the handy work of one Mr. *Michael Wright*, eminent at Picture-Drawing and in Antiquities.' To which the Italian replies 'I have known him in Italy for such a person.'¹³ It is true that Wright does seem to have had a considerable reputation in Italy where he had spent many years.¹⁴ The Italian then notices 'an extream large Column or Pyramid' which is in course of erection (Wren's Monument commemorating the Fire), and the Englishman explains that

It is a fancy of the aforementioned Dr. *Christopher Wren*; it will be hollow, with steps up, snail fashion, with peeping holes, from place to place, to look out at, and resting places; and on the top of all there shall be one who shall declare aloud to the People at set hours, where the Fire began; and at the Pedestall, engraven in Marble, the Date of the same, &c.

in large Capital Letters, that there shall be no need of Galileos Tube to read them by.¹⁵

The mention of 'Galileos Tube' is perhaps an allusion to Wren's fame as an astronomer.¹⁶

In another dialogue the Italian visits Oxford where his interest in Wren is still further increased by the new Sheldonian Theatre which impresses him so much that he decides to take an engraving of it back to Italy with him. The following is the conversation concerning the Sheldonian, which the Italian describes as

It. . . . a Building which strangely amazes People, as well for the excellent contrivance, as to Architecture, as because it is most commodious for those Exercises;¹⁷ and furnish't with a Printing House which may parallel any in the Christian World. But I pray who drew the model?

En. Mr. Doctor *Christopher Wren*, overseer of all his Majesties Buildings; but at the Charges of the most Reverend *Gilbert Shelden* Archbishop of Canterbury.

It. He may be stil'd the Principal Architect of England; I carry along with me the Sculp of the same, to shew it in my own Country.¹⁸

En. You overvalue our concerns.

It. Merit without Fame would be as good as buried.

En. The right Vertuosos, who are famous, triumph over death by the help of Fame. We have not the marble of Italy, otherwise the Building would yet make a better shew than it doth.

It. It lyes not in the material Stones and Timber, or ought else, but in the Order and Frame, therefore there's no objecting against it, as in Cambridge, Harry the Seventh's Chappel is not to be paralleled in the World.¹⁹

The Italian is introduced to other features of the English scene besides the new architecture. He is taken to some 'clubs', under which heading are included the public concerts recently inaugurated by John Banister:

En. . . . in the Evening I'll have you to our Clubs.

It. There are several?

- En.* We have some for Language, for Musick, and for News, where I shall bring you, take my word, you shall hear smart tickling Musick, which puts every one as it were in an extasie.
- It.* They play upon Instruments?
- En.* The Head Musitian and Master of the Place, plays of all sorts of Instruments to admiration.
- It.* What's this Vertuoso's name?
- En.* John Banister.
- It.* There is no Musick comparable to a voice though.
- En.* There are voices too; but not to be compared with the Eunuchs of Italy; and the Famous Women Singers; at the coming in, we must pay twelve pence a piece.²⁰

Banister's concerts (begun in 1672) were indeed a novelty, for they seem to have been the first concerts in any country which were open to the public for a payment at the door.²¹ Some London taverns had, however, provided music as an attraction before this date and traces of a tavern ancestry seem to have survived in Banister's concerts, for in North's account of them²² we read that the room in which they were held was 'rounded with seats and small tables, ale-house fashion'. Some of the earlier taverns seem to have had very elaborate music-rooms.²³ The tavern association perhaps accounts for the word 'club' used by Torriano for the concerts, which he seems to rank with 'clubs' for languages and news. In France and Italy such gatherings would have been more likely to take the form of 'academies'.²⁴

The Italian is also taken to the theatre by his English friend with the promise that 'where the plot is obscure, I will interpret it to you'.²⁵ (Torriano elsewhere expresses admiration for the English drama and advises Italians to learn English if only in order to understand 'their astounding comedies and tragedies'.)²⁶ They comment on the fact that the prices of seats are higher than they used to be. This the Englishman considers to be quite reasonable because the modern stage has 'scenes' (that is painted scenery and scenic effects) and 'women actors',²⁷ luxuries unknown in former times.

The pendant to the Italian in England is the Englishman in Italy for whose benefit the other set of dialogues in *The Italian Reviv'd* is designed.²⁸ The Englishman in Italy buys the dictionary of the *Accademia della Crusca* at a bookseller,²⁹ and discusses with his lodging-house keeper the chances of his getting the Boccaccio and

other old books which he has bought at great expense out of the hands of the Inquisitors.³⁰ He buys all his books unbound and intends to have them bound when he gets home.³¹ He converses with a merchant-banker, a language master, and an antiquary who shows him the sights of Rome and offers to sell him 'graven stones, medals, and such-like curiosities'.³² But the most interesting of the conversations is that between the foreigner and the Italian artist upon whom he calls in order to have his portrait painted. The artist explains that he does not draw from the life and that the stranger is mistaking him for his brother who is a portrait-painter. He then takes the visitor up into a room which is hung, not only with his brother's pictures but with those of some of the greatest masters.

Stranger. What a many pieces and pictures! here are abundance.

Italian. There are some of the works of the chief Masters of the world, very ancient.

S. Truly, one cannot behold a more worthy thing.

I. These are not ordinary things certainly.

S. That picture of the *Popes* is wondrous handsome, in a posture of giving the blessing to the People.

I. That's my brother's hand.

S. He hath nick't it.³³

I. For matter of drawing to the life, he shews his ability.

S. Methinks I have seen some of the pieces elsewhere.

I. Not unlikely, for at the most solemn Feasts we expose them.

S. I grant it, for your pieces of devotion, but not your conceited ones, and more prophane ones.

I. Neither would it be fitting.

S. What row of pieces is that?

I. *Ovids* Metamorphosis.

S. Just like to that of *Tivoli* imbost!³⁴

I. Behold this same *Venus* is of incomparable worth, and a Phoenix in the world,³⁵ of the most able Picture-Drawer that ever was.

S. And that *Adonis*.

I. Also of the same hand.

S. What a handsome show those shades and lights make, they do even enamour.³⁶

I. The shade sets off the light the more.

- S. What hand are these of?
 I. They are said to be of *Titiano's*.
 S. They must be worth an infinite.
 I. There hath been refused for this *Vulcan* only, two thousand and odd crowns.
 S. Directly,³⁷ an Artists vertue cannot be recompenced.
 I. We are equal with the Poets.
 S. If you do not exceed them, without question you equal them.
 I. It is true, there are bunglers amongst us, who are good for nought, but to grinde colours.
 S. Even so one may say of Poetasters, who give themselves out for Poets.
 I. In short, betwixt our Art and the Poets there's little difference, only that theirs is speaking, ours silent and mute.
 S. That *Actaeon* there, wants nothing but speech, so well is it done, with breathing colours, and that Amazon is not inferiour to it.
 I. It would not turn us to an account to keep here ordinary Pieces.
 S. Do you make sale of them?
 I. When I find I can sell them to Persons that understand them, and have wherewithall.³⁸

The conversation, though slight, gives some rendering of the impressions of a seventeenth-century English traveller in Italy; the becoming awe and wonder which he felt when confronted with Italian works of art; and the presence in his mind of the old *ut pictura poësis* association, the traditional *paragone* between Poetry and Painting still as cogent as it was to Sir Philip Sidney when he called poetry a 'speaking picture'.³⁹

Sidney was remembered in the seventeenth century, perhaps by artists as well as by poets. The English translation of Michael Wright's Italian account of the embassy of Roger, Earl of Castle-maine to Rome contains a description of the 'devices' with which the ambassador and his suite, of which Wright was a member, were welcomed at Avignon; these the translator says that he has thought fit to insert 'because the English Nation (however discontinu'd this last Century) had once a more than ordinary Genius and aptness, that way; as he that shall turn Hall's Henry the 8th, Sir Philip Sidney, or Cambden's Remains, may find much of this

kind, and (perhaps) not unworthy of his time.⁴⁰ Thus some of the festivities connected with this embassy seem to the translator of Wright's account of it like the reappearance of a 'discontinu'd' emblematic turn of fancy which he associates with Sidney and others. Wright painted mythological pictures, as well as portraits; notably an 'Astraea' on a ceiling in Whitehall.⁴¹

In introducing well-known contemporary figures and artistic subjects of general interest into an Italian language text-book Torriano was following the example which had been set by John Florio in the preceding century. Florio mentions Sidney and Bruno in his dialogues,⁴² and caters not merely for the student of the Italian tongue but also for the prospective English poet whom he provides with mythological material which might be useful in a sonnet.⁴³ Torriano's allusions to Wren and to Wright, or his *paragone* between Poetry and Painting, were thus the kind of subject matter which English students of Italian liked to find in the manuals written for them by Italian language-teachers. Nor is it at all fanciful to look upon Torriano as the spiritual heir of Florio, for there is ample evidence that he so regarded himself. Florio's name was written on a sign outside the lodgings in Mitre Court where Torriano gave his Italian lessons.⁴⁴ The earlier teacher's manuscripts were in the possession of his successor, and the enlarged edition of Florio's dictionary which Torriano published was based upon them, as were also some of his other text-books.⁴⁵ The great scarcity of surviving copies of Florio's two books of dialogues, the *First Fruits* (1578) and *Second Fruits* (1591) may be due to the destruction in the Fire of which Torriano speaks; and *The Italian Reviv'd* which recalls Florio's themes⁴⁶ whilst adapting them to modern times was written to take their place.

Thus the history of the language-manual provides a link between the age of Sidney and the age of Wren, between Elizabethan poets and Restoration artists and architects. Torriano 'revives', for the benefit of a generation just recovering from a series of great disasters, the traditions of Italian scholarship.

To conclude, one may mention a point of contact between the Torriano family and one of the greatest names in English art. The Mrs Joseph Martin, née Eleanor Torriano, who was painted with her child by Sir Joshua Reynolds (Pl. 7) was a great-granddaughter of George Torriano, younger brother to our Giovanni.⁴⁷ This beautiful picture, so full of human tenderness, poetic feeling, and religious allusion, is thus related through its subject to currents of

ITALIAN TEACHERS IN ENGLAND

Italian influence in England which take their rise long before the eighteenth century.

PAOLO SARPI

PAOLO SARPI'S *HISTORY OF THE COUNCIL OF TRENT**

AFTER THE GREATER part of the Italian peninsula had, in the end of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, fallen under direct or indirect Spanish rule and the post-Tridentine claims of the papacy to much greater control of secular affairs were exerting an ever-growing influence, the maritime Republic of the north stood aloof, maintaining in dignified and aristocratic reserve the traditions of its ancient constitution. It was not only the wealth of Venice, its sea power, its strong foreign alliances, which enabled the Republic to make this stand. A people accustomed through many centuries to an independent life under its own venerated and venerable laws finds it difficult to realise that it is in danger; and this deeply rooted self-confidence adds to its strength. The Venetians were once such a people, and behind the bulwark of their constitution they lived comparatively secure. The Venetian constitution, and the uncorrupt administration of justice in the Republic, inspired an almost religious respect in other Italians and in the world at large. Traiano Boccalini, in his *Ragguagli di Parnaso*, brings in many men of letters who praise the 'Venetian Liberty', and he puts into the mouth of Benedetto Varchi a speech attributing the long life of the Venetian Republic to the sense of

* First published in *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, VII, 1944.

justice and the public spirit always displayed by her aristocratic families. With this he sadly compares the disappearance of Florentine liberty. 'My Republic of *Florence*, which never had the luck to work peace and union between her Noble Families, and that mutual love which doth perpetuate the libertie of Commonwealths, was at last compelled to fall into servitude.'¹

The courage and firmness of the 'Venetian Liberty' was put to a severe test in 1606 when Pope Paul V placed Venice under an Interdict. Relations between the Republic and the Papacy had been strained for some time over questions of ecclesiastical jurisdiction; the Pope had demanded that some priests who had committed misdemeanours should be given up to him and that certain laws concerning the erection of churches and the alienation of property in mortmain should be revoked. The Doge and Senate refused to give way and ban and interdict were pronounced against them and their subjects. Both were ignored by the government, the people, and the clergy. The rites continued to be performed as usual in churches and monasteries and Venice went about her ordinary business as though nothing unusual were happening. The Jesuits, who refused to obey the government's command to ignore the Interdict, were expelled. Powerful friends of Venice abroad watched the situation with sympathy and through the mediation of Henri IV of France a reconciliation was brought about. The French Cardinal de Joyeuse went to Venice as the Pope's emissary to lift the Interdict, but as the proud Venetians did not acknowledge its existence and did not sue for absolution, it was said that the Cardinal made the sign of the cross secretly, under his hood or his biretta. The Pope, in fact, withdrew, for the laws objected to were not annulled and, moreover, the Jesuits were not readmitted. At the high tide of the Catholic Reaction, the spiritual arm had failed against Venice.²

The peculiar interest of the episode lay in the fact that this successful defiance of the Papacy was made by a Catholic state. Venice had remained faithful to the Church throughout the Reformation period; she knew herself to be a most ancient Christian and Catholic community, secure under the protection of St Mark the Evangelist (Pl. 8a).³ Her resistance to the Pope was not made on doctrinal but on purely juridical grounds, and she showed that it was possible to resent exorbitant papal demands without becoming a heretic. She represented an older form of Catholicism, as opposed to the new conception of papal prerogatives which had become current since the Council of Trent. The Venetian case

aroused enormous interest throughout Europe and the brilliant theologian and canonist who conducted it, Fra Paolo Sarpi, became a famous international figure.

Pietro Sarpi was brought up by a very devout mother and by an uncle who was a priest and a man 'd'antica severità di costumi'.⁴ Physically delicate, the boy was remarkable for the elevation of his character, for his silence ('almost continuous even with his contemporaries'),⁵ and for his extraordinary intelligence. A nature so marked out for the intellectual and contemplative life was obviously destined for the cloister, and young Sarpi entered the order of the Servites, taking the name of Fra Paolo.

It is sometimes said that in Venice (perhaps owing to the relative freedom prevailing in the Republic) the Renaissance lingered longer than elsewhere in Italy and in his studies Fra Paolo ranged, in true Renaissance fashion, through the whole encyclopedia. Well versed in languages and a good Greek and Hebrew scholar, he was at home in the world of learning revealed by humanism, but like Pico della Mirandola and Giordano Bruno he did not disdain medieval philosophy.⁶ The chief bent of his mind was indeed towards philosophy and science. He corresponded with the leading scientists of the age, including Galileo and probably Bacon. His biographer Fra Fulgenzio says that he intended to have an instrument made to demonstrate the way of solving some of the complexities of the Copernican theory.⁷ He was in close contact with the Paduan school, and the discovery of the valves in the veins, which paved the way for the discovery of the circulation of the blood, has been attributed to him.⁸ Fabricius de Acquapendente in his lectures (which William Harvey attended), used to quote the views of his friend Fra Paolo,⁹ and the anatomical theatre of the university of Padua, in which those lectures were given, is said to have been built from the designs of Sarpi whose many-sided activities included a practical interest in architecture.¹⁰ In the history of thought, Sarpi appears to be in that stream running from the late Renaissance philosophers to the seventeenth-century development of science.¹¹ In later life he changed the direction of his studies towards moral philosophy and history, and above all the canon law, and in this line also he was pre-eminent. Such a huge intellectual apparatus did not dim Sarpi's powers of penetrating observation of human nature; silent himself, he knew how to draw others out, and this side of his character so impressed a saint, Carlo Borromeo, that he urged Fra Paolo to become a director of consciences.¹²

In the controversy with the papal curia which culminated in the Interdict of 1606 the Venetian government had need of the most expert canonist that could be found and Fra Paolo became its theological and legal adviser. He conducted the case on strictly legal lines and with constant reference to historical precedents, and the mind of Sarpi contributed not a little towards the bloodless victory which Venice won. He was warned that at Rome there were some who desired to take his life, and one evening in 1607 as he was returning to his convent he was attacked and wounded in the face and neck. The origin of this plot was never fully traced and after a severe illness he recovered. But another of the Venetian theologians who had taken part in the controversy¹³ was induced to go to Rome where he was arrested by the Inquisition and eventually put to death in the Campo de' Fiori.

Whilst the records of Sarpi's contemplative life as a natural philosopher were unpublished and have largely perished, many writings of his relating to the controversies of his active life were printed. They include histories of the Interdict¹⁴ and a treatise on the Inquisition,¹⁵ but his most famous book is the *History of the Council of Trent*. This admirably arranged and convincingly written work is a landmark of historical composition, though written with a bias. 'It was Sarpi's object,' to quote Symonds, 'to demonstrate that the Council of Trent, instead of being a free and open synod of Christians assembled to discuss points at issue between the Catholic and Protestant churches, was in reality a closely packed conciliabulum, from which Protestants were excluded, and where Catholics were dominated by the Italian agents of the Roman Court.'¹⁶ In short, the official theologian of the Catholic state of Venice wrote a book which attempted to undermine the validity of the Council of Trent, the charter of the Counter Reformation. It is hardly surprising that the book was first published, not in Italy, but in England, in 1619.

The affairs of Venice had been followed in England with an interest which sometimes amounted to passion, not only for their own sake but because they could be used to point various morals nearer home.

The whole question of papal interference was raised to fever heat in England by the Gunpowder Plot excitement of the winter of 1605, and this was followed in the next year by the Interdict against Venice. The Venetian ambassador was quite amazed by the sympathy with his country which he met on every side. 'I

cannot tell your Excellencies,' he writes to the Doge and Senate, 'the satisfaction which, owing to their hatred of the Pope, they experience at this news of the excommunication. It is indeed a marvel; great and small express indignation and use such language that if it reached the ears of him who is thus unwarrantably annoying the Republic, it would most certainly cause him to desist. Nor do I doubt that if the King touches on the subject he will discourse at length, for it is one that suits his taste.'¹⁷

The ambassador's premonition that King James I would have a good deal to say on this matter was fully justified. A few days later he reported a long audience with the King in which he explained the situation between the Pope and the Republic. 'I pointed out that the laws objected to . . . are constructed with a view to good government, and with not the smallest intention of damaging the Ecclesiastical authority; nor had any of the Pope's predecessors ever challenged them.' The King broke in with a very resolute look and said: 'They are pious, most just, most necessary laws. Not only do I approve, I commend and sustain them. The world would indeed be fortunate if every Prince would open his eyes and behave as the Republic does. . . .'

James went on speaking with great excitement for a long time. 'The Pope holds me and my Crown for the most abominable thing in the world, but I claim to be a better servant of God than he is. To his Divine Majesty and before mankind I protest that I have no greater desire than to see the Church of God reformed of those abuses introduced by the Church of Rome. There is nothing I am more desirous of than the convocation of a legitimate Council. I have informed the King of France, with whom I am on good terms, and who knows but that through these present troubles of the Republic God may open a way for the effectuation of my pious purpose? The Popes, however, do not desire this, for it suits their designs to keep the world in darkness. . . . Pope Clement VIII invited me to join the Roman Church. I replied that if they would resolve the various difficulties in a general Council, legitimately convened, I would submit myself to its decisions. What do you think he answered? – just look at the zeal of the Vicar of Christ – why, he said, "The King of England need not speak of Councils; I won't hear of one. If he will not come in by any other means things may stand as they are." What do you think of that? Is it not an answer which clearly shows their resolve to be guided by nothing but their interest and their passions? And so it is in every case. . . . I am not surprised that in their controversy with

the Republic they will not listen to reason. . . .' Here the Ambassador continues in his own words. 'The King embarked on an exceedingly long discourse against the usurpation of supreme and absolute power by the Popes, employing such a force of reasoning, such a riches of citation from the holy Scriptures, such a marvellous flow of eloquence, that had his Majesty's speech been taken down and sent to the Pope perhaps he would turn his attention to other objects than the molestation of your Serenity. . . . He expressed himself in most vigorous language . . . the Lords of the Council . . . declared that they had never seen him more content and delighted.'

The ambassador then spoke to the King of the theologians and canonists who were upholding the case of Venice. Though Sarpi is not mentioned by name the ambassador must have been thinking primarily of him; the King listened with the deepest interest and this was perhaps the beginning of that great admiration for Fra Paolo which he afterwards showed. When told that Venice had expelled the Jesuits, the King's enthusiasm knew no bounds. 'O blessed and wise Republic,' he cried, adding that had it not been for the political machinations of the Jesuits the religious condition of England would have been far more satisfactory.¹⁸

The Venetian's conversation with Lord Salisbury, though much cooler in tone, was of the same tenor. Salisbury said that 'the act of so great a Senate was very welcome to them, for it showed that one could sometimes refuse obedience to the Pope without becoming a heretic.'¹⁹ He gave it as his opinion that, judged by the experience of history, the whole difficulty between Venice and the Pope would disappear, and this sage forecast proved accurate.

Copies of the pamphlets written by Sarpi and others in the Interdict controversy were sent to England. 'The printed discourse of Father Paulo . . . in defence of the Republic in its contest with the Pontiff has arrived here,' says the ambassador in September 1606. 'Everyone praises it.'²⁰ Several of them were translated into English and published, in some cases attached to sermons by Anglican divines.²¹ Sarpi became famous in England and his fame lasted long.

Politically the Venetian case seemed to corroborate the justice of England's stand against the temporal claims of the Pope, and in the religious sphere it made a special appeal to Anglicanism. Here was a state in the old Catholic tradition, from which Anglicanism claimed to be descended in true apostolic succession, but which repudiated the post-Tridentine claims of the Pope, as An-

glicanism also did. The hopes of James I that the troubles of the Republic might open a way towards a new and legitimate General Council through which the Anglican Church might re-enter communion with the rest of Christendom may have been shared by some of his subjects. Sarpi's *History of the Council of Trent*, the publication of which James was to sponsor, with its critical attitude towards the failure of Trent to reunite Christendom, thus had a bearing on the English situation.

It is possible to get into even closer contact with the trend of events leading up to the publication of Sarpi's history by studying Sir Henry Wotton, the English ambassador in Venice, and his circle. At the time of the Interdict and after, Wotton, aided by his chaplain William Bedell, and apparently with the approval and encouragement of Sarpi and his friends, made an effort to introduce the Reformation into the Republic. Attention was drawn to this very curious by-path of religious history by Logan Pearsall Smith, and he points out that 'as a counter-attack on the Papacy in the midst of the Catholic reaction, conducted by members of the English Church, it deserves a place in the history of Anglicanism.'²²

Sarpi told a German visitor that the Doge, Leonardo Donato, and three-fourths of the nobles of Venice were hostile to the Pope, together with a large proportion of the rest of the population.²³ The time must therefore have seemed ripe for a schism and Sir Henry Wotton seized what he thought was an opportunity. He distributed religious books and pamphlets, including Bishop Jewel's *Apologia Ecclesiae Anglicanae* – a work which criticises the absence of the Reformers from the Council of Trent and of which he sent to England for a large number of copies in small format – and also the Bible in Giovanni Diodati's Italian translation.²⁴ Bedell translated the English liturgy into Italian²⁵ and services were held in the embassy in Italian which many Venetians attended and at which sermons and political discourses were delivered by Bedell.²⁶ Towards the end of 1607, Wotton, on the advice of Sarpi and Fulgenzio, sent to Geneva for the Protestant pastor, Giovanni Diodati.²⁷ Diodati came, and it seemed that a Protestant church was forming at Venice.

Bedell, an unambitious and perfectly sincere man, played an important part in the whole movement and Sarpi had a strong regard for him. When in after years Wotton was writing a testimonial for Bedell, he told King Charles I: 'This is the Man whom

Padre Paulo took (I may say) into his very Soul, with whom he did communicate the inwardest thoughts of his heart; from whom he professed to have received more knowledge in all Divinity, both scholastical and positive, than from any that he had practised in his dayes: of which all the passages were well known unto the King your Father, of blessed memory.²⁸ That the reserved and silent Venetian took this modest English parson 'into his very soul' testifies to the depth of the current sympathy running between England and Venice at this time, and it is also significant that years afterwards Wotton knows that it will impress King Charles with a sense of Bedell's remarkable merits to learn that 'this is the Man whom Padre Paulo took into his very Soul'.

After the departure of Diodati, Sarpi's intimate associate Fra Fulgenzio Micanzio appears to have preached reformed doctrines from Catholic pulpits in Venice, advising his hearers to read the Scriptures and pray in their own language.²⁹ Bedell helped Fulgenzio to prepare these sermons,³⁰ against which the Pope protested, saying, according to Wotton, that to preach the Scriptures and the Gospel was to ruin the Catholic faith. 'These were his formal words, which being rehearsed in Senate out of the ambassador's letter, did cause a general murmur and scandal amongst them. And Padre Paulo is of opinion that nothing was to be wished more for the opening of their eyes here than such a voice from the Pope himself.'³¹ Bedell had vivid memories of Fulgenzio's delivery of these sermons, and how when preaching on Pilate's question 'What is Truth?' he would hold out a copy of the New Testament, saying '*There it was in his Hand*, but then he put it in his Pocket and said coldly, *But the Book is prohibited*; which was so suited to the *Italian* genius, that it took mightily with the Auditory.'³²

In 1609, Francesco Biondi came on a mission to James I from the reforming party in Venice, advising the formation of a union of all Protestants against Spain and the Pope and that 'la religione' should be introduced into Italy, using Venice as the base and starting-point. Protestant agents and books should be sent to Venice and two colleges should be established, one in England for the reception of Italian refugees, and one in the Valtellina where preachers should be trained for propaganda in Italy.³³

Rumours of what was afoot spread in Europe and aroused the expectation that Venice was about to become a Protestant state. The account given by Izaak Walton in his life of Sir Henry Wotton probably represents what was generally known in England about

these affairs. 'A report was blown abroad,' says Walton, 'that the *Venetians* were all turned *Protestants*: which was believed by many, for that it was observ'd, the *English* Ambassadour was so often in conference with the *Senate*, and his Chaplain Mr. *Bedel* more often with Father *Paul*. . . . And also, for that the *Republick* of *Venice* was known to give Commission to *Gregory Justiniano*, then their Ambassadour in *England*, to make all these Proceedings known to the King of *England*, and to crave a promise of his assistance if need should require: and in the mean time they required the *King's* advice and judgment; which was the same which he gave to *Pope Clement*, at his first coming to the Crown of *England*; (that *Pope* then moving him to an Union with the *Roman Church*) namely, *To endeavour the calling of a free Council for the settlement of Peace in Christendom: and that he doubted not, but that the French King, and divers other Princes would joyn to assist in so good a work; and, in the mean time, the sin of this Breach, both with his, and the Venetians Dominions, must of necessity lie at the Pope's door.*'³⁴

The latter part of this speech evidently reproduces what had become public knowledge in regard to the King's discussions with the ambassador. The point about the calling of a free General Council was clearly thought to be of great importance.

Whilst strange hopes were raised in Protestant states by the doings in Venice, Rome was deeply perturbed and made many complaints to the Republic.³⁵ At a secret meeting in an empty church in Venice, Wotton showed the secretary to the Venetian Senate a letter from a Jesuit in Rome, which he had intercepted, and which spoke of proceedings being initiated against Sarpi and of the dread of a schism.³⁶ It is one of the many curious features of the situation that Wotton, whose embassy was a centre for the English government's espionage on English Catholics abroad, used from time to time to put at the disposal of the Venetian government information about the plans of their common enemies, the Jesuits, which he had gained in this way.

After the excitement of the Interdict controversy had died away, the Reform movement seems also to have died down in Venice, but it was brought again into the lime-light by the sensational conversion to Anglicanism of Antonio De Dominis, Archbishop of Spalato. This De Dominis had a singular career.³⁷ Educated by the Jesuits, he became Bishop of Segni and then Archbishop of Spalato in Dalmatia, but in spite of these successes he became restless and was in contact with Sarpi's circle in Venice. There he

began to write many volumes *De republica ecclesiastica* in which he attacked the papal power, and which were read over and corrected in manuscript by William Bedell.³⁸ When Bedell returned to England in 1616, De Dominis came with him and joined the Anglican Church. The important convert was delightedly welcomed by James who gave him a deanery, a living, and the mastership of the Savoy, and the whole affair made 'much noise' as Wotton predicted that it would.³⁹ De Dominis appears to have been a believer in religious reunion and to have been of the opinion that the differences in religion had but a slight foundation and might easily be composed.⁴⁰ He lived in England for some time, until Gondemar, the Spanish ambassador here, hinted to him that he might be welcomed and honoured at Rome as the instrument of a great reformation in the Church. This bait worked on his vain and somewhat unstable nature; he went to Rome and publicly rejoined the Church, expecting a cardinal's hat, but was thrown into prison where he eventually died in 1625. Later his corpse was exhumed and burnt, together with copies of his writings, in the Campo de' Fiori by order of the Inquisition. Like his friend Sarpi (and like Giordano Bruno), De Dominis was interested in natural philosophy. According to Moreri his treatise *De radiis visus et lucis* (Venice, 1611) explains the colours of the rainbow in much the same manner as Descartes was afterwards to do, and Sir Isaac Newton is said to have commended the work, though I have been unable to find confirmation of this.

It was De Dominis who first made public the *History of the Council of Trent*. In 1619 there was published in London, printed by a printer to the King and with the royal coat-of-arms on the title page (Pl. 9a), a work in Italian said to be by 'Pietro Soave Polano', and with the title: *Historia del Concilio Tridentino, nella quale si scoprono tutti gl'artificii della Corte di Roma, per impedire che né la verità di dogmi si palesasse, né la riforma del Papato, & della Chiesa si trattasse*. This work was by Sarpi and 'Pietro Soave Polano' was an anagram of 'Paolo Sarpio, Veneto'. The dedication to King James, also in Italian, was signed by Antonio De Dominis, Archbishop of Spalato, and dated 'Di Casa di Savoia il primo di Genaro 1619'. In the dedication, James is told that there are many in Italy who are dissatisfied with the state of religion and who are not blind to the 'frauds and deceits' by which the Court of Rome 'suppresses true Christian doctrine' in order to maintain itself in temporal greatness. In former times Councils

of the Church were instruments for the discovery and reformation of errors and abuses, but in these last times the Council of Trent was used by the Pontiffs to aggrandise themselves and not to reform the Church, as is expounded in this history. It is indeed extraordinary that such a work should have come from the pen of a person born and educated under the Roman Pontiff. 'I have known the author,' continues De Dominis, 'and judged this labour of his, known only to myself and a few others, worthy of being brought to light, therefore I took much trouble to obtain a copy of it . . . though I do not know what the author will think of this my resolution of publishing it.'⁴¹ This sentence has been used as evidence that De Dominis published the book without Sarpi's consent.

In the following year, 1620, a Latin version of the work appeared made by Adam Newton, one of the tutors to Prince Henry, possibly with the assistance of Bedell. The title is now much less provocative, being simply *Historiæ Concilii Tridentini libri octo*,⁴² and instead of the ultra-Protestant dedication of De Dominis there is a dignified address to the Holy Trinity accompanied by a prayer for the reform of the Church.⁴³ The same year, 1620, the first edition of the English translation by Nathaniel Brent came out.⁴⁴ The title-page reverts somewhat to the provocativeness of the Italian version and there are dedications to King James and to the Archbishop of Canterbury, George Abbot. In the latter, Brent says: 'This Booke I haue translated out of Italian into our vulgar language, presuming to commend it to the royall protection of his sacred Maiestie, for whose sake (as some reasons induce me to beleue) it was principally composed. And because I undertooke this worke at your Graces command, who haue beene the chieftest cause why the original crossed the Seas before the iust natiuitie of it, and saw the first light within his Maiesties dominions, as also in regard of the high place you most deseruedly beare in the Church of God, I thought it my dutie to craue your fauour likewise. . . .' There were many subsequent editions of both the Latin and the English translations.⁴⁵

Izaak Walton in his life of Wotton repeats the statement, already quoted from Brent, that Sarpi wrote his history principally for King James, apparently at about the time of the Interdict controversy.⁴⁶ Though the work may have begun earlier than this, it was certainly completed by 1616 in which year Wotton wrote to James as follows:

The book of Maestro Paolo touching the Council of Trent is newly finished. It containeth many rare things never discovered before, and surely will be of much benefit to the Christian Church, if it may be published both in Italian and Latin. Whereunto the author, upon your Majesty's persuasion, doth well incline; but I have not yet received his full resolution, which peradventure doth somewhat depend upon the resolution which he will take about his own person.

The Archbishop of Spalatro is resolved to endure no longer the idolatrous fooleries of this Church, but will within a week of such a matter begin his journey towards your Majesty; of whose favour I have given him fresh assurance, and I think his departure will breed much noise, being a person of such quality, and of singular gravity and knowledge.⁴⁷

Thus the publication of the book in Italian and Latin (carried out three years later) was already debated between James, Sarpi, and Wotton in 1616, though Sarpi had not yet given his full consent. Pearsall Smith believes that the 'resolution which he will take about his own person' means that Sarpi was half thinking of coming to England himself, with De Dominis.⁴⁸ He had received in 1612 a pressing invitation from James, transmitted through Sir Dudley Carleton, to make his home in England.⁴⁹ De Dominis' statement that Sarpi's full consent to publish the book had not been given may be correct, but to infer from this that the publication was made quite against Sarpi's will would be erroneous, for he was 'well inclined', upon James's persuasion, that it should be published. Further, in a letter to James of June 1619, Wotton says that he has been telling the German princes 'of a discourse that was ready to come abroad, wherein should be discovered by a great intelligent man . . . all the practises of the Council of Trent, out of the original registers and secret papers; wherein your Majesty had a hand for the benefit of the Christian world.'⁵⁰

Brent's story that Archbishop Abbot was instrumental in procuring the manuscript for publication in England is repeated by his son in letters written to Lewis Atterbury and published by the latter in 1705. The son says that his father sent the manuscript over weekly to the Archbishop from Venice, in Italian, as Father Paolo and Father Fulgenzio composed it; and when he had sent it all over, he came over himself and translated it. The parcels of manuscript were not directly addressed to the Archbishop but reached him through indirect channels, and when he acknow-

ledged their receipt he spoke of them as 'canzoni' for security reasons.⁵¹

More about the Archbishop's copy of the manuscript can be learned from the journal of Sir Roger Twysden (who had also tried to get hold of a manuscript of the *History*). Twysden had talked with both Nathaniel Brent and with Bill, the printer of the book. Bill told him that the Archbishop of Spalato had borrowed the Archbishop of Canterbury's Italian manuscript of the book and had sent it to the press, with alterations by himself, without the latter's knowledge. When Canterbury heard that the book was in the press he conferred with the King and sent for Bill, from whom he obtained the manuscript and sent it back to him later with the alterations made by Spalato taken out.⁵²

What seems to emerge from all these stories is that Sarpi was in communication with James and the Archbishop about the publication of the book, and that Spalato rather indiscreetly rushed in on the whole business. Spalato's preface was not approved by Sarpi, and was taken out in the edition published at Geneva 'revised and corrected' by the author.⁵³ The great eagerness of the King of England and the Archbishop of Canterbury to get hold of Sarpi's book and publish it, suggests that it must have had in their eyes some peculiar and pressing significance for Anglicanism.

Nor was this passionate interest in the book confined to England; copies of it, both in Latin and Italian, were eagerly sought after abroad, particularly in France. It was the first history of the great Council, upon which so much recent European history depended, to appear, and there was a thirst for information about it.⁵⁴ Pierre Du Puy, one of the brothers who were the centre of a scientific and learned circle in Paris, writes in April 1619 to his friend William Camden, the English antiquary, asking him to send a copy of the book. Later he writes that he has received it and read it with delight and profit, but he wishes that the dedication and the second part of the title had been omitted, for these prejudice Catholic readers against the book. Peiresc, writing to Camden in July 1619, thanks him for having sent copies of the work which he had greatly desired to see, for there is much talk of it in Paris where people are saying that the author is Fra Paolo. Peiresc thinks that the history is a very fine performance indeed, but wishes that 'he who had it printed could have kept himself within the same moderation as the author'. Like Du Puy, he regrets the dedication and the addition to the title, and also that the name of De Dominis should be associated with the book 'for he is so much

discredited amongst those who are not of his opinion that he will discredit this great work here, and prevent it from circulating amongst Catholics, as it might have done, even in Italy'. It was a mistake, he thinks, to have given this partisan complexion to the first edition – though later editions might have been adapted to suit a party – for without it 'l'ouvrage eust esté beaucoup mieux receu deça la mer'. Perhaps this criticism had its effect on the Latin edition in which, as we have seen, the features objected to by Peiresc do not appear. Du Puy writes in December 1619 that he is 'awaiting with avidity' a copy of the Latin version.⁵⁵

The work was therefore one which, whilst it had a particular appeal for James I and the Anglican Church, had also a wider significance. The dedication of the Latin version which is headed 'Deo Opt^{mo} Max^{mo}' and passes thence to the Truth as it is in the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit lifts the *History of the Council of Trent* above the controversies of the hour into the European classical tradition in its most solemn association with the religious tradition. To God, the unity in trinity and the giver of all good gifts, who is opposed to the spirit of error and falsehood and the defender of candour and sincerity, is committed this work in its Latin form, through which Truth will be drawn out of darkness.⁵⁶

We now come at last to the work itself and to the subject with which it deals, the Council of Trent (Pl. 9b).⁵⁷ The following remarks aim only at bringing out certain points which are relevant to the argument of this article.

In the earlier years of the sixteenth century many people were looking earnestly forward to a General Council of the Church in which points at issue between Catholics and Reformers should be resolved and through which Europe might return to its former religious unity. Schemes of reunion were worked out by theologians of both sides, and 'colloquies' held between Protestants and Catholics. Melanchthon and Cardinal Contarini (a Venetian) evolved a scheme of reconciliation which, though rejected by both sides at the time, inspired hopes that reunion was not impossible. A later and less well-known reunionist theologian was Georg Cassander. Cassander is important because his ideas influenced both the reunionist trend in France, which found one expression in the Colloquy of Poissy, and that in Germany which was supported by the Emperor Ferdinand I.⁵⁸ Cassander, who always remained a Catholic, believed in allowing some concessions to the Reformers, particularly in the matter of communion under two

kinds in the Sacrament, and he seems also to have contemplated conceding the marriage of priests. In the main his scheme aimed at gliding over doctrinal differences and concentrated rather on liturgical reform, on a return to a simpler and more ancient liturgy of the Mass in which all could join in the unity of earlier times and forget their differences. His ideas were somewhat vague and visionary, but their influence was considerable.

In French circles where these matters were discussed at the time of the Colloquy of Poissy and before the momentous second session of the Council of Trent, the English Prayer Book was looked upon as an interesting attempt at a return to a simpler and earlier liturgy. There was a movement in the French 'middle party' of Catholic conciliators towards the introduction of the vernacular into parts of the liturgy, and the English Prayer Book and Bishop Jewel's *Apologia pro Ecclesia Anglicana* were studied with some care.⁵⁹ Catherine de Medici was deeply interested in such discussions, for she pinned her hopes on reunion as the only way of pacifying her Huguenot subjects without civil war. The leader of the French Catholic conciliatory party, both at the Colloquy of Poissy and at the second session of the Council of Trent was her adviser, the Cardinal de Lorraine. After the failure at Poissy, where Theodore de Bèze led the Reformers and the Cardinal de Lorraine the Catholic conciliators without reaching any satisfactory conclusion, Catherine and Lorraine put out great efforts to influence the Council, which was about to recommence its sittings, in a conciliatory direction.⁶⁰ Lorraine tried to induce Pius IV to convoke a new General Council 'better adapted to restore the unity of Christendom by freedom from the commitments of Trent which formed an impassable stumbling-block to the Protestants'.⁶¹ And when that effort failed and the Council of Trent was resumed, Lorraine and the French bishops fought a losing fight in it for more conciliatory methods against the papal party whose representatives had a huge majority. There were here involved two totally different conceptions as to the function of a General Council: one side held the view that the Protestants should be represented at it, and that a formula should be reached, under the guidance of the Holy Spirit, by which unity should be restored to the Church; the other side refused to consider concessions to Reformers and concentrated on the tightening up of an intense discipline under the Pope in a great effort to regain Christendom for Roman Catholicism by both spiritual and temporal weapons. The latter side won and its victory determined the lines on which

the official Catholic Counter Reformation would be conducted. But the other side had had many supporters within the Catholic Church and its influence lingered on into the Post-Tridentine world. H. O. Evennett has pieced together the story of the losing fight, the 'hopeless rearguard-action', waged at Trent by the Cardinal de Lorraine and his supporters, seeking with scholarly impartiality 'to describe a lost cause – not necessarily to commend it'.⁶²

Sarpi's *History of the Council of Trent* describes the same lost cause but not in an impartial spirit, for his book is a continuation of the rearguard action, though he never uses abusive or immoderate language like his less intelligent admirers. As he writes it, the history of this Council which 'desired and procured by godly men, to reunite the Church, hath so established the Schisme, and made the parties so obstinate, that the discords are become irreconcilable'⁶³ takes on a poetic intensity, and becomes 'the Iliade of our age',⁶⁴ a long-drawn-out tragedy of mistake and misunderstanding. The heroes of the drama are the Frenchmen (or rather the party they represent, for not all who took this side were French in nationality). Pibrac, one of the French ambassadors, in his first oration to the Council, pleads for liberty to discuss reforms which the times have made necessary, and that 'every one may dispute without being burned'.⁶⁵ The French ambassadors desire to have the Protestants, including the English, represented at the Council.⁶⁶ The Pope complains of the French that they are friends of the Huguenots and of the Queen of England.⁶⁷ The coming of the Cardinal de Lorraine and the French bishops is awaited with considerable perturbation by the Pope's supporters in the Council, for they had been 'advised, from divers places . . . that he meant to propose many novities, about the collation of Bishopricks, pluralities of Benefices, and, which was of no lesse importance, the Communion of the Cup, marriage of priests, and Masse in the vulgar tongue.'⁶⁸ The Cardinal entered Trent in November 1562, and in one of his first speeches described the misery which religious disunion had wrought in France, 'the demolitions of Churches . . . burning of libraries', and went on to plead that the Council might bring 'the peace of God which passeth all understanding'.⁶⁹

The articles of Reformation officially put forward at Trent by the French delegation did not go to such lengths as the Emperor, probably Catherine, and perhaps also Lorraine himself secretly hoped. Nothing, for example, is said of the marriage of priests (though this question was brought up for discussion at Trent).

Nor is it suggested that the whole of the Mass should be in the vulgar tongue, though the recommendation is made that the prayers which the priest makes with the people should be in the vernacular and that there should be singing of Psalms in the vernacular, either at Mass or at other times.⁷⁰ But according to Sarpi, Lansac, the French ambassador, was reputed to have said at a banquet in the presence of many prelates that France desired the granting of marriage to priests, prayers and offices in the vulgar, and the Cup in the Sacrament.⁷¹

Towards the end of the Council, Sarpi reports a 'long querulous Oration' by the French ambassador Du Ferrier, complaining bitterly that nothing useful had been done, and that the 'additions of excommunicating and anathematizing Princes, was without example in the ancient Church, and did make a way to rebellion. . . .'⁷² Sarpi, who had many friends and correspondents in France, obtained much of his information from French sources. Gillot is said to have communicated to him the despatches of the French ambassadors and he was in close contact with Du Ferrier who held for a long time the position of French ambassador in Venice.⁷³

One begins now to understand the peculiar importance of Sarpi's work in the eyes of James I and of his Anglican divines. If the right course had been pursued at Trent, Sarpi indirectly suggests, the Church as a whole would have been reformed somewhat on the model of the Anglican reform (marriage of priests, communion *sub utraque*, and the liturgy in the vernacular are all, of course, features of the Anglican Church). But the wrong course was pursued, and the Church, instead of being reformed, was deformed with new papal usurpations. Therefore Anglicans may disregard the Council of Trent and view themselves as still members of the ancient and Holy Catholic Church, rightly reformed. This has, of course, always been the Anglican position; but to have it confirmed by a brilliant history, based on new and unpublished material, by the official theologian to one of the oldest Catholic states in Europe was certainly worth all the trouble which James and the Archbishop took to get hold of Sarpi's *History of the Council of Trent*.

The book also indirectly throws light on the reform movement which Sarpi and his friends conducted in Venice. They wished to adopt certain features of the Reformation, but they never declared themselves to be Protestants as individuals. Sarpi always refused to do this, to the annoyance of Diodati and the disappointment

of Wotton. This was because they went back to notions of reform and reunion generated from within the Catholic Church, such as reunionist theologians like Cassander had proposed in the days before the Council of Trent. Cassander is of importance for the whole movement. The third volume of the work *De republica ecclesiastica* by De Dominis, printed at Frankfurt in 1658, has a treatise by Cassander appended to it.⁷⁴ The rector of a parish in Kent who published a translation of Sarpi's letters in 1693 knew very well through what tradition the 'renowned Father Paul' could show great sympathy with Protestants while continuing to regard himself as a Catholic. He quotes Erasmus and a number of 'conciliating' Catholic theologians, including Cassander, as examples of 'wise and moderate Papists which have written to the same Purpose' and who yet 'thought themselves never a jot the worse Catholicks for all that'.⁷⁵

The Venetian government viewed the whole movement chiefly from the political point of view. The liberal party in Venice wanted to keep clear of the Hispano-Papal tyranny which was swallowing up all Italy and they had to find a justification for their attitude. At the beginning of the breach with the Pope, Wotton reports that the Venetian divines were trying to find a new religion and were undecided between two possibilities 'either to force their Latin priests to say mass after the excommunication or to pass to the Greek faith'.⁷⁶ The former, not the latter, policy was adopted (although there was a good deal of coming and going of Greek ecclesiastics to Venice) and as its religious and political backing appeals were made to liberal Gallicanism and to Anglicanism and to France and England, the two powers opposed to Spain. Ardent Anglicans like James I, Wotton, and Bedell gave the whole episode a much more 'Protestant' and doctrinal complexion than it ever had from the side of the Venetian government and were bitterly disappointed when Venice, having gained her points against the Pope, slipped back into her old allegiance and her old 'idolatry'. The Doge and Senate were quite surprised by the almost passionate distress shown by Wotton when he learned that they had permitted the Inquisition to prevent the dissemination of James I's book,⁷⁷ a copy of which the Doge had received with so much satisfaction, and the head of the ancient Republic spoke quiet and dignified words to the disconsolate ambassador. 'As to religion his Majesty [King James] is wise and prudent, and if he desires to continue in his own faith he will not complain if the Republic desires to abide in the faith in which she was born; may be some

day, when it pleases God, we may be more one faith to His greater glory. . . . It is well to let the clouds roll by, for thus are they dissolved; if they are gathered together then comes rain and other ills. The Ambassador replied in a low voice that he would not fail to do what was right and took his leave and left.⁷⁸

Wotton's reforming zeal made no lasting impression upon the ancient city of the lagoons, but on English souls and imaginations the wave of sympathy which passed between them and that city at this time left a mark. Under the Stuarts, England was turning back again towards Europe; and thinking wistfully of her pre-Reformation past and its indissoluble links with Christendom as a whole. This wistfulness wells up in the Anglicanism of the period, much less aggressive than in earlier years, and in the devotional poetry of Anglican divines, like George Herbert and John Donne.⁷⁹ In Venice, Englishmen saw a living representative of the old Catholic world, to which they themselves claimed still to belong, joining with them for a brief moment in protest against 'Popery'. The splendour of Venice, the marvels of her art and architecture, the magnificence of her religious pomps and ceremonies,⁸⁰ the most ancient and familiar voices of the Byzantine and Catholic past which still spoke in her – all these things were turned towards England, not with a gesture of contempt for a heretic and an upstart, but with strong political and even religious sympathy.

It is well known that the influences of Venetian art and architecture begin to pour into England in the early seventeenth century, and that Sir Henry Wotton was an important transmitter of these influences.

There was a strain of *vita contemplativa* in Wotton's odd character, and his duties as ambassador gave him leisure to indulge it. When he despaired of mending the world 'in the practical and moral part' he tried to 'mend it in the speculative part' and philosophical discussions went on in the embassy, some of them aiming at no less a thing than a 'new system of the world'.⁸¹ It was not for nothing that Wotton was the intimate friend of the great metaphysical poet, John Donne. Himself no mean poet, his eye and ear were attuned to harmony and as he wandered about Venice he was sensitive to the influences of the place. He goes always to the church of San Gerolamo, near his house, when the nuns are singing there;⁸² he climbs into the organ at St Mark's in order to miss nothing of the Christmas services;⁸³ he studies pictures in

churches and gazes at the Palladian architecture which has recently arisen like a new vision of the ancient world. Such sights and sounds raise in him trains of reflection on the mysteries of number and the magical power of proportion. He remembers the precept of Pythagoras that 'the images of all things are latent in numbers'⁸⁴ and comes to the conclusion that 'Out of arithmetic sprung music, which is but figures put into sounds, and out of geometry sprung perspective, which is lines put into beams.'⁸⁵

The man who knew most about the meaning of Venice's stand against the Pope, and its connections with Anglicanism, was the man who wrote the first treatise in English on the planning of a country house on classical lines. In the preface to his *Elements of Architecture*, Wotton reminds the reader of his intimate knowledge of Venetian affairs, saying that it is 'less presumptuous for me, who have long contemplated a famous Republick, to write now of Architecture, than it was anciently for Hippodamus the Melesian, to write of Republicks, who was himself but an architect.'⁸⁶

Wotton once made a list of Italian books, with short notes by himself thereon, evidently a reading list compiled for a friend. The list concludes with ten 'Books of Art', made up of two books on natural magic by Porta and Campanella, two modern editions of ancient treatises on mechanics, a modern edition of Euclid, a work on geography and another on linguistics, approved by the Accademia della Crusca, and the following three last entries, in this order:

L'architettura di Palladio. Clear and Regular, in fol.

L'Istoria del Concilio di Trenta, written by Maestro Paolo, worth all that were before it, and I believe all that will follow it in that language.

A discourse, in 4°, written by Galileo *sopra le cose che nuotono*.⁸⁷

Why does the *History of the Council of Trent* tower thus between Palladio and Galileo as the best book ever written in Italian? There is not one word about science, magic, art, or architecture in that work, which is purely a history, and Wotton's list had already dealt with histories. It would be unwise to build too much on the slight foundation of a hurriedly written book-list; on the other hand such fragments are sometimes more revealing than carefully composed works of connections of ideas which the writer takes

so much for granted as to be hardly conscious of them. Was there a connection in Wotton's mind between the liberal theology of Sarpi, the science of Galileo, and the architecture of Palladio?⁸⁸

Whilst Wotton's chief artistic interest seems to have been architecture, he was also a connoisseur of painting and here his importance is that of a collector. Many Italian works of art reached this country through his agency. He bought pictures for, among others, Buckingham⁸⁹ and Salisbury,⁹⁰ and the portraits of Doges which he left in his will to Charles I are now at Hampton Court.⁹¹

Amongst the pictures sent to England by Wotton were portraits of Sarpi. The one which he despatched in September 1607, thinking that it would give King James pleasure to behold 'a sound Protestant, as yet in the habit of a friar',⁹² never arrived, for it was confiscated at Milan by the officers of the Inquisition. Another attempt was more successful. In December 1607, Wotton sends to Salisbury, with the intention that the King should see it, a picture of Father Paul with 'the late addition of his scars'.⁹³ The attack on Sarpi's life had just been made, and his face was now marked by the assassin's dagger. The Venetian government had surrounded Sarpi with every care during his illness – amongst the eminent physicians ordered to attend him was Fabricius de Aquapendente⁹⁴ – and the dagger drawn from his cheek was preserved as a sacred relic. For James, Sarpi's wound was associated with the attack on his own life in the Gunpowder Plot; in a speech made in November 1607, at a public dinner on the anniversary of the Plot, the King 'mentioned the attempted assassination of Master Paul and praised the prudence and justice of the Senate'.⁹⁵ A portrait showing the scar on the face of Father Paul would thus be symbolic of the drawing together in these years of England and Venice against the 'Diacatholicon', as Sarpi called the Hapsburg-Papal combination.

The original portrait sent over by Wotton in 1607 seems to have disappeared, but in 1637 Wotton presented a copy of it to Dr Samuel Collins, Provost of King's College, Cambridge. In an accompanying letter he says that he has added 'a title of mine own conception, *Concilii Tridentini Eviscerator*; and had sent the frame withal if it were portable, which is but of plain deal, coloured black like the habit of his order.'⁹⁶ This picture disappeared from King's College after 1744, but Logan Pearsall Smith pointed out that the portrait in the Bodleian Library (Pl. 10c) must be a copy of it.⁹⁷ What appears to be a round piece of black sticking-plaster marks the point where the assassin's stiletto entered Sarpi's cheek,

and concerning which he delivered the celebrated pun that the wound was made 'Stilo Romanae Curiae'.⁹⁸ He holds his pen in his hand like a sharp weapon with which he made the return blow when he 'eviscerated' the Council of Trent.⁹⁹

It would be interesting to know what became of the original which was in the possession of King James.¹⁰⁰ The presence of Sarpi's portrait in the palace of the King of England seems to have had an echo in Venice where a seventeenth-century traveller to Italy saw in the Doge's Palace 'the picture of King James of England, the onely picture of any forrain Prince that I saw there'.¹⁰¹

English scholars who admired the *History of the Council of Trent* were desirous of having portraits of its author and of his associate, Fra Fulgenzio. Immediately after the description quoted above, of how Nathaniel Brent obtained the manuscript of the *History*, his son adds: 'My Father sent to them [Paolo and Fulgenzio] to desire the Favour of them to send him their pictures, which they did accordingly, drawn upon Canvass half way; and my Father put them into plain black Frames. I had them in my possession for some time, but they were burnt in my lodgings in Fleetstreet, in the great Fire of London. . . . I've heard my Father say, that he believ'd they were Protestants in their Hearts. . . .' ¹⁰² Sir Roger Twysden, the other seeker after a manuscript of the *History*, also possessed portraits of the two friars which his brother sent him from Venice.¹⁰³ And we learn from Donne's will that portraits of Fra Paolo and Fra Fulgenzio graced the 'parlour' of the deanery of St Paul's in his time,¹⁰⁴ where the passionate, poetic, and metaphysical dean must often have gazed upon their faces.

'You have a luminous parlour,' writes Wotton when sending the 'Eviscerator' portrait to the Provost of King's College, Cambridge, 'which I have good cause to remember, not only by delicate fare and freedom (the prince of dishes), but above all, by your own learned discourse; for to dine with you is to dine with many good authors. In that room I beseech you to allow it a favourable place for my sake.' And Wotton goes on to draw a word picture of Sarpi's character. 'He was one of the humblest things that could be seen within the bounds of humanity . . . and enough alone to demonstrate that knowledge well digested *non inflat*. Excellent in positive, excellent in scholastical and polemical divinity. A rare mathematician, even in the most abstruse parts thereof, as in algebra and the theoriques; and yet withal so expert

in the history of plants as if he had never perused any book but nature. Lastly, a great canonist, which was the title of his ordinary service with the State; and certainly in the time of the Pope's Interdict they had their principal light from him. When he was either reading or writing alone his manner was to sit fenced with a castle of paper about his chair and over his head; for he was of our Lord St. Alban's opinion, that all air is predatory, and especially hurtful when the spirits are most employed.'¹⁰⁵ The quaint last sentence unites Paolo Sarpi and Francis Bacon in a common dislike of draughts in the study.

The portrait of the Venetian theologian was thus completely acclimatised to its surroundings as it hung upon the walls of English scholars, poets, and divines.

The following up of French translations of the *History of the Council of Trent*¹⁰⁶ will eventually lead us back to England and to eighteenth-century Anglicanism.

The first French translation of the *History* carried with it Protestant associations, for it was made by Giovanni Diodati, the minister whom Wotton had summoned to Venice and whose Italian translation of the Bible he had distributed there, and published at Geneva in 1621.¹⁰⁷ A later edition, published in Paris in 1665,¹⁰⁸ has an anonymous preface in which it is said that this famous work is revered by all right-thinking people as a piece 'worthy of ancient times'. The writer then points out that 'the French Nation co-operated in what she judged to be the good to be hoped for from this Council, and counteracted what she thought would be prejudicial in it. She may therefore contemplate with satisfaction the glorious deeds of her ancestors, and from their illustrious examples learn to maintain herself in the possession of her ancient liberty and right judgment concerning points about which other Nations have taken upon themselves the yoke of total servitude, by voluntary ignorance.'

This glorification of the Frenchmen at Trent as 'ancient' heroes standing for 'ancient' liberties has a counterpart in some of the appendices to Brent's translation of the *History*. One of these consists of extracts from the historian Guicciardini in which papal tyranny is attacked and the reader called upon to remember that 'to be a Roman is a most glorious name when it is accompanied with virtue; and that their shame is doubled who have forgotten their ancestors.'¹⁰⁹ The frontispiece of the eighteenth-century edition of Sarpi's works (Pl. 10a) also suggests an associ-

ation of the *History* with the concept of 'antique virtue'. Below the medallion-portrait of Sarpi lies an open copy of the great *History*, and to the right is the lion of St Mark standing on St Mark's gospel. In the background are ruined buildings, and an impressive figure in antique dress, probably representing Diogenes, leans on the portrait of Sarpi holding a lighted lamp in his hand. The picture seems intended to suggest that the Venetian theologian was that wise man for whom Diogenes sought with his lantern.

The words of the preface to the 1665 edition of Diodati's French translation of the *History* had a topical reference. In 1663 the Sorbonne had censured some works which maintained Papal infallibility. The Pope protested and in 1665 issued a bull of censure. Parlement, however, strongly supported the resistance of the Sorbonne, until the clergy intervened against the 'Gallicanisme parlementaire' and the King, Louis XIV, gave way to Rome. The controversy had not been without its allusions, favourable and unfavourable, to the English schism.¹¹⁰ Obviously the republication of Diodati's translation of Sarpi's *History* in 1665 bears upon this situation, and the preface, with its glorification of antique virtue and liberty, was perhaps written by an adherent of 'Gallicanisme parlementaire'.

A second French translation of the work was made by Amelot de la Houssaye and published at Amsterdam in 1683 under the pseudonym 'De la Mothe-Josseval', an anagram of his name.¹¹¹ There was another edition in 1686,¹¹² also at Amsterdam, this time under the translator's real name and with Sarpi qualified on the title-page as 'Téologien du Sénat de Venise'. Amelot de la Houssaye had been attached to the French embassy in Venice and published a study of the Venetian constitution which opens with the words: 'I write the history of the Government of Venice, without doubt the most exquisite of its kind in Europe, for it is a faithful copy of the ancient Republics of Greece. . . .'¹¹³

Houssaye has an interesting preface before his translation of Sarpi's *History*, which is largely a reply to Cardinal Pallavicino.

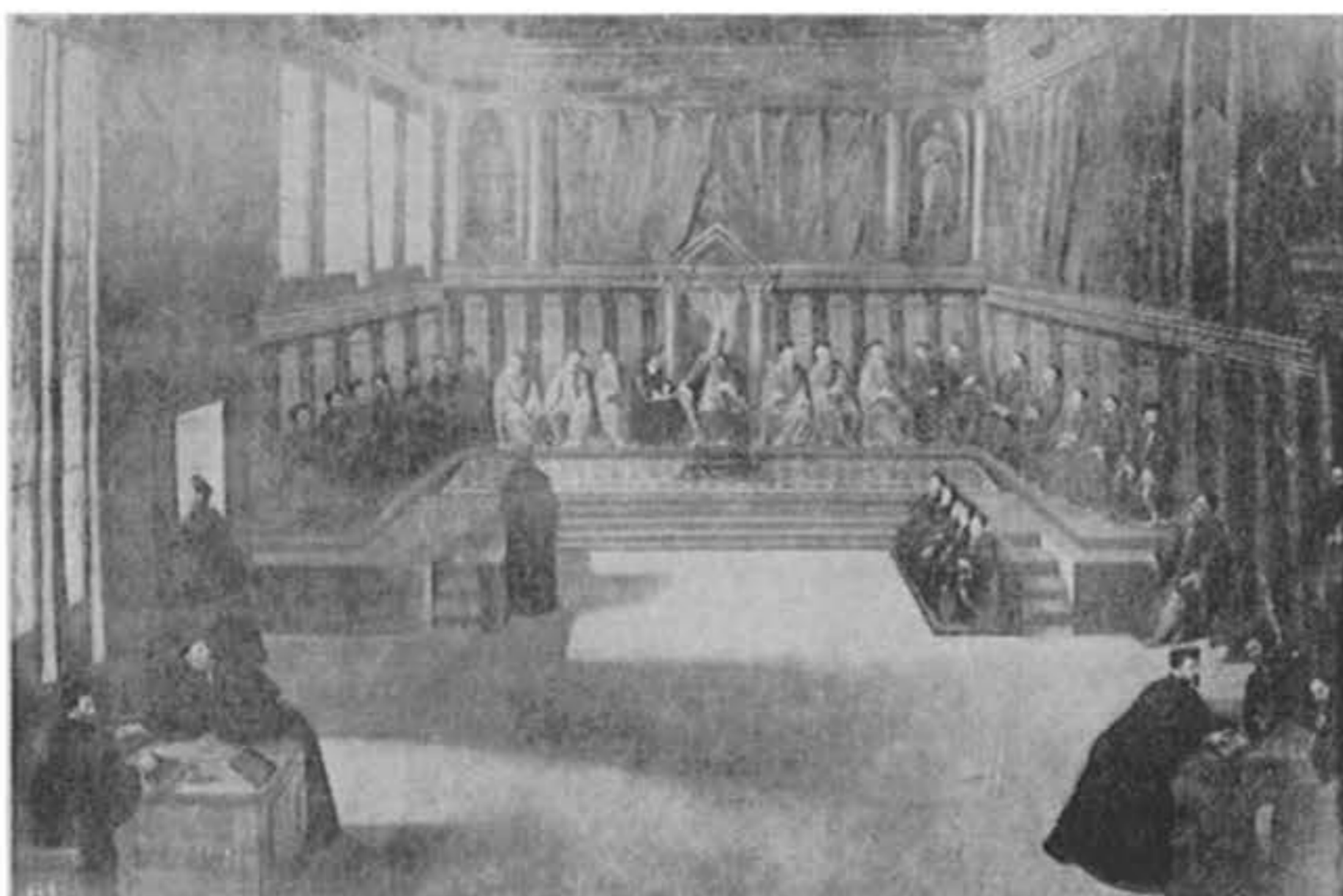
Cardinal Sforza Pallavicino, a Jesuit, had published in 1656 the chief official answer to Sarpi,¹¹⁴ an entirely new history of the Council of Trent from a different point of view. Ranke, who made a comparison between Sarpi and Pallavicino,¹¹⁵ observes that all the French and Imperial policy in the Council, which Sarpi emphasises, is ignored by Pallavicino, who emphasises other things. In order to gain a balanced view of the Council – undoubtedly



7 Sir Joshua Reynolds, *Eleanor Torriano (Mrs Joseph Martin) and her Son*, Private Collection (p.187)



8(a) Tintoretto, *The Doge Girolamo Priuli receiving the Sword and Balance from Justice*, 1561-4, Palazzo Ducale, Venice (p.190)



8(b) Odoardo Fialetti, *The Doge and Senate*, Hampton Court (p.259 n.91) (by gracious permission of H.M. The Queen)

HISTORIA DEL CONCILIO TRIDENTINO.

NELLA QUALE SI SCOPRONO
*tutti gl' artifici della Corte di Roma, per impedire
che né la verità di dogmi si palesasse, né la
riforma del Papato, & della Chiesa
si trattasse.*

DI
PIETRO SOAVE
POLANO.



IN LONDRA,
Appresso GIOVAN. BILLIO.
Regio Stampatore.
M. DC XIX.



9(b) *The Council of Trent*, engraving (1658) after a picture by J. Van Ulft (p.202)



9(c) Odoardo Fialetti, *The Doge Leonardo Donato*, Hampton Court (p.259 n.91) (by gracious permission of H.M. The Queen)



10(a) Portrait of Sarpi, from Title-page of his *Opere*, 1761-8 (p.211)



10(b) Sarpi, engraved by George Vertue, from Le Courayer's *Histoire du Concile de Trente*, 1736 (p.214)



10(c) Portrait of Sarpi, Bodleian Library, Oxford (p.209)



11(a) *left* James I receiving the
History of the Council of Trent,
engraved by George Vertue (p.217)



11(c) *right* Queen Caroline, Wife of
George II, engraved by George
Vertue after a painting by Jacopo
Amigoni (p.214)



11(b) *left* Papal Tiara and Doge's
Cap. Headpiece from Sarpi's *Opere*,
1761-8 (p.252 n.14)

one of the most important events in the religious history of Europe – both works ought to be read. In his opening chapters Pallavicino made the most of the doubtful origin, from the Catholic point of view, of Sarpi's *History*, pointing out that it was dedicated by an apostate bishop to a heretic king. He added that intercepted letters had proved Sarpi's desire to spread Protestantism in Italy and that his sources were suspect. Du Ferrier, he suggests, was a Huguenot and read Lucian during Mass. And of Pibrac he says that he wished to arrogate to the King of France the same authority in the Gallican Church that the King of England had in the Anglican Church. He accounts for the 'wide acceptance' of Sarpi's work amongst 'the multitude' by the success of his satirical style, the authority which he had through having been born and brought up under the Pontiff and through his reputation for learning and knowledge of affairs of state, and finally, because his work was, for long, not replied to.¹¹⁶

Amelot de la Houssaye counters all this in the name of Gallican Catholicism – he makes a solemn statement before the translation that he himself is a devout Catholic. He tries to extricate Sarpi, as best he can, from his doubtful connections with James I and De Dominis, observing amongst other things that Fra Paolo 'qui avoit le cœur tout François' did not think very much of the pedant king and that he had nothing to do with the scandalous preface by De Dominis of which he complained bitterly and had it removed from the edition published at Geneva. And he indignantly defends Du Ferrier and Pibrac and the French policy in the Council.¹¹⁷

The time of the publication of Amelot's translation was also a time of crisis in Gallican-Papal relations. At an assembly of French clergy in 1682 a declaration of Gallican rights was drawn up (the culmination of long-standing grievances) which brought forth the papal censure, but the clergy refused to withdraw.¹¹⁸ There might almost have been a schism, but Gallicanism and the French kings were always able to avoid a final rupture with Rome. The revival of Sarpi's *History* points, however, as usual, to renewed interest in the pre-Tridentine traditions.

The chaplain at the English embassy at Paris in these years was a certain William Wake who took so deep an interest in the affairs of the French church that a reunion between Gallicanism and Anglicanism became the chief interest of his life.¹¹⁹ Wake eventually became a famous Archbishop of Canterbury. From 1717 to 1720 negotiations for reunion were going on between Archbishop

Wake and members of the Gallican Church. Certain French scholars took a great interest in the movement, notably Louis Ellies Du Pin, the ecclesiastical historian, and Father Pierre François Le Courayer, librarian of the Abbey of Sainte Geneviève, who published a defence of the validity of Anglican orders.¹²⁰ This involved him in trouble with the ecclesiastical authorities and he came to England where he was well received by Wake and others and made a new French translation of Sarpi's *History of the Council of Trent*¹²¹ which he dedicated to Queen Caroline, the wife of George II. History had repeated itself almost exactly. It was the story of Venice and the Papacy, De Dominis and James, all over again, with France instead of Venice, Le Courayer instead of De Dominis, and Caroline of Anspach for James I. And the actors in this drama were perfectly aware of the earlier historical parallel.

Caroline of Anspach, wife of the great-great-great-grandson of James I, has a point of resemblance to the Stuart monarch in her taste for intellectual theology. The two greatest eighteenth-century bishops, Berkeley and Butler, were raised to the bench largely through her patronage, and both as Princess of Wales and as Queen she held regular meetings in her closet to discuss religious and philosophical questions which were attended by Leibniz, up to his death in 1716, and by Clarke, Butler, Berkeley, Le Courayer and others.¹²² She was interested in the reunionist projects of Archbishop Wake,¹²³ and it was she who desired Le Courayer to undertake the translation of the *History of the Council of Trent* which is adorned with an imposing portrait of her (Pl. 11c), engraved by Vertue after the Venetian painter Jacopo Amigoni.¹²⁴

Father Paul holds a most honoured place in this latest translation of his great work. In the portrait of him, engraved by Vertue (Pl. 10b) the prominence of the frame, always mentioned as significant in descriptions of the Sarpi portraits sent to England in the seventeenth century, might suggest that this engraving is taken from one of those early pictures, perhaps from the companion portraits of Fra Paolo and Fra Fulgenzio of which there were several replicas, owned by Donne and others.¹²⁵ This picture shows some of the external characteristics of Sarpi, as described by Fulgenzio: 'He had a round and well-shaped head . . . but large in proportion to the rest of his body; a wide forehead, marked in the centre . . . by a very prominent vein . . . fine eyebrows, large and sparkling black eyes, a big nose marked on the right side of the cheek by the scar made by the stiletto in 1607 . . . a thin beard. . . .'¹²⁶

As in earlier years, the Sarpi portrait is accompanied by the cult of Sarpi as a man and a theologian. On the last page of his preface Le Courayer prints a long Latin epitaph of Father Paul, beginning:

Paulus Venetus Servitarum
Ordinis Theologus,
Ita prudens, integer, sapiens,
Ut majorem nec humanorum
Nec divinorum scientiam
Nec integriorem nec sanctiorem
Vitam desiderares. . . .¹²⁷

Le Courayer does not make the mistake of supposing Sarpi to have been a rampant Protestant disguised as a friar. 'The Pope,' he says, 'was not for him Antichrist, nor the Mass an idolatry. . . . He did not think that his religion obliged him to adopt everything from one side and condemn everything on the other; and, establishing himself in the wise mediocrity of Erasmus, Cassander, and so many others, he did not take from the Catholics a blind submission to everything proposed to them, nor from the Reformers a spirit of opposition to everything established. . . .'¹²⁸ Le Courayer evidently regarded himself as a sage of the same type as Sarpi. The copious and learned notes to his translation are largely directed towards vindicating Sarpi from the criticisms of Pallavicino, but they are made, so he tells Her Majesty, in the same spirit as that which inspires the *History*. 'The kind of Catholicism which there reigns is not that which has rendered the Romans odious to Protestants. It consists only in the love of unity and peace; and who can condemn such a disposition?'¹²⁹ It was in this spirit that Father Paul wrote the history of the great Council which 'assembled to procure the reunion of the Church'¹³⁰ failed to do so. And to whom more properly might the translation of this work be dedicated than to a princess of the theological views of Queen Caroline who 'shares the Throne under whose auspices this History first appeared?'¹³¹

Le Courayer's translation was supported by a subscription list containing nearly five hundred names, a large percentage of which belong to the higher aristocracy and the higher ranks of the Church. Archbishops and members of the royal family, dukes and bishops, deaneries and college libraries, were eager for copies of the two impressive volumes, and the names include those of the Earl of Burlington, the Hon. Henry Pelham, Lady Mary Wortley

Montagu, Sir Robert Walpole, and Horace Walpole. Once again the Venetian theologian is welcomed by the English throne, church and state as a valuable ally.

One can, I think, distinguish two elements in this long-enduring and important influence of Sarpi's *History*. On the one hand it is related to a genuine strain of religious idealism which regretted the sad divisions of Christendom. The Council of Trent had not fulfilled the expectations of those who hoped for reunion from it and there was never another General Council to make good this failure. Sarpi's history showed that there was an alternative policy at Trent and that another type of Catholic reform leading to reunion had been envisaged. Anglicanism, with its peculiar position in the Protestant world as a reformed church which claimed to be still in the Apostolic succession and used a ceremonial ritual, was a representative of the alternative, and during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries this European aspect of Anglicanism was not forgotten. Whenever the old hopes rise again, Anglicanism and Sarpi's history come to the front and foreign ecclesiastics visit England. And in this tradition there lived on some of the earlier Renaissance influences. In an extract from Jewel quoted by Brent in an appendix to his translation of the *History*, Pico della Mirandola is cited as an authority;¹³² the devout Anglicanism of Charles I's court is saturated with Neo-platonism.

On the other hand, the influence is also political. Sarpi's last words are said to have been 'Esto perpetua',¹³³ 'May Venice live for Ever', and the Venetian stand against the Pope was a political stand for the ancient liberties of the ancient Republic whose constitution aroused the awe and reverence of Europe. The *History* came from a state which represented the political virtues of the ancients, and a republicanism which opposes tyranny and is associated with an aristocratic class. It is perhaps not an accident that what one might call the two state visits of Sarpi's *History* to England occur in periods when neo-classical Palladian architecture flourished. It was a clever move of the eighteenth-century Whigs to appropriate these Stuart memories to themselves at a time when Queen Anne was not so long dead and the '45 was still to come. The predominantly 'Whig' character of English admiration for the Venetian constitution has been brought out in a recent book,¹³⁴ and James I's theological admiration for Venice provided a point of contact between Whigs and royalists which made it a useful

memory for the Whig supporters of James's Hanoverian descendants to revive.

The patient pursuit of editions of Sarpi's *History* at last yields a statement in visual terms of the theme of this article. Facing the portrait of Queen Caroline in Le Courayer's translation, and standing as a headpiece to his dedication to the Queen, is a small picture designed and engraved by Vertue (Pl. 112a). On the left is King James I, seated and with the royal arms beside him; on the right is the winged lion of St Mark. Between the two is a figure who is presenting a book to James, and beside him stands a friar. There can be no doubt that this is De Dominis presenting the *History of the Council of Trent* and that the friar is its author Fra Paolo. Le Courayer shows a detailed knowledge of that episode and more than once implies its parallel with his own presentation of the *History* to Queen Caroline. To the right of James stands a figure of Prudence¹³⁵ holding the Holy Bible, of course the English translation of the Bible first issued in his reign. When one remembers the reform movement in Venice and the preaching from the Scriptures by Fra Fulgenzio, this is seen to be an illustration of the spiritual current between England and Venice in the time of James I, and of the importance of Sarpi's history in the European rôle of Anglicanism. There is a third book implied in the picture, though not illustrated. The lion of St Mark so often has St Mark's gospel with him, but here he seems satisfied with the *History of the Council of Trent* and the English Bible. That there should be for an eighteenth-century artist a possible connection between the Authorised Version of the Bible and the lion of St Mark, the emblem of Venice, is proof of how deep into the spiritual history of England this subject has taken us.

Had Dr Johnson translated Sarpi's history, as he intended to do, the work might have been better remembered. He had begun it when he heard that another person of the same name, Samuel Johnson, curate of St Martin's-in-the-Fields, was engaged on the same task. After some 'light skirmishes' between the rival translators both of them dropped it, and Boswell regrets that 'the able performance of that celebrated genius, Fra Paolo, lost the advantage of being incorporated into British literature by the masterly hand of Johnson'.¹³⁶

A NEW EDITION OF PAOLO SARPI*

Paolo Sarpi's *Istoria del concilio tridentino* belongs to his life work as a whole, to his mission of maintaining a spirit of liberty against what he saw as the Hispano-Papal tyranny under which Italy was sinking. The 'Venetian liberty' maintained longest a spirit of independence against the gradual suffocation, and the leader in the stand which she made was Paolo Sarpi. His part in the Interdict controversy made him famous throughout Europe as a leading liberal champion whom Protestants delighted to welcome as an ally, though Sarpi never fully proclaimed himself on their side.

Particularly in England was Sarpi admired, by James I and by Anglican theologians; and the English ambassador in Venice, Sir Henry Wotton, entertained hopes that an Anglican type of reform might be established in Venice. The devious ways through which Sarpi's *Istoria* was first published in London have been unravelled, and the acclimatisation of 'Father Paul' in England as almost a national hero is attested by portraits and by much other evidence.

From whatever point of view it is regarded – and it has, of course, been a centre of fierce controversy – there can be no doubt that Sarpi's history is a great work, and one of basic importance for the history of thought and religion. Corrado Vivanti has thus rendered invaluable service by making available the complete text of the first Italian edition, with explanatory notes and an introduction. Selections from the *Istoria*, with notes and introduction, were published by Gaetano and Luisa Cozzi in their edition of Sarpi's *Opere*¹ which is the fullest and most up-to-date study hitherto available and which has been utilised by Vivanti, as he generously acknowledges. Vivanti has himself, however, since then, made major original contributions to Sarpi studies.

As a historian, Sarpi maintains that discretion and avoidance of scurrilous or violent language which characterised him in active life in his conduct of the Venetian case. Yet the gradual accumulation of detail in his accounts of the meetings of the Council builds up a case against the Papacy as having been from the first, and throughout, determined to avoid or prevent the reforms called for by Protestant protest, or to encourage eirenic hopes. Historians not in agreement with Sarpi's ideological position have cast doubts on his reliability, suggesting that he invented his sources,

* Review of Paolo Sarpi, *Istoria del Concilio Tridentino*, seguita dalla *Vita del Padre Paolo di Fulgenzio Micanzio*, a cura di Corrado Vivanti, Turin, 1974; in *Rivista storica italiana*, LXXXVII, 1975 (there translated into Italian by Enrico Basaglia).

but new light has been thrown on this problem elsewhere by Vivanti.² Vivanti proved there that, in Book II of the *Istoria*, Sarpi was using the correspondence of the papal legates to the Council with the Pope and his confidential circle. Strange to say, this correspondence has been available in print since 1916, when it was published in the fundamental collection of documents,³ and very well known to the historians who have criticised Sarpi for not using original documents. Vivanti's discovery illustrates Sarpi's methods; he tends to select from the letters of the papal legates materials which bring out his theme, but he is not inventing; he has the original letters before him.

In the introduction to the Einaudi edition of the *Istoria*, Vivanti reflects on these discoveries, suggesting that Sarpi may have first come across these documents when in Rome in 1585-8, and that their entirely political attitude to the Council, the absence from them of any interest in reform, or of any religious or spiritual preoccupations, may have suggested to him the idea of writing a critical history of the Council, bringing out the religious hopes which so many sincere Catholics and Protestants had pinned to the Council, and the clever manoeuvres through which the main problems of reform were set aside or disregarded. The publication of the *Istoria* made clear to all that all hope of the solution of religious schism through a General Council of the Church was at an end, and had, moreover, been chimerical from the start.

If one includes within the history of the Concilio Tridentino, as Sarpi does, Luther's protest and the beginnings of Protestantism, the ostensible cause of the calling of the Council, then the story of this last Council of the Church is the story of Europe during the momentous years of Reformation and Counter Reformation. All the great events and figures of the times come into Sarpi's history; the German reformers and the German Protestant princes; French monarchs and French wars of religion; the Tudor monarchs and their affairs; the Spanish monarchy; the Empire and the Papacy. Within the history of the Council, the age-long drama of Emperors and Popes is played out once again, and the victory of the Papacy signals the final establishment of religious disunity. Sarpi's book combines a remarkable power of marshalling detail with an underlying sense of the sweep and roll of historical processes and, above all, with a sense of the vast spiritual and human tragedy underlying the history of this Council, 'the Iliad of our age'.

In his admirable introduction, Vivanti surveys the state of

Venice in the early years of the seventeenth century, its position of greater freedom than the rest of Italy from Hispano-Papal domination, its attempts to maintain contacts and alliances with the outside world, with England, France, the Netherlands, the German princes. Notable moments or points in this relatively emancipated attitude were the bold recognition of Henri IV as King of France by the Venetian government and the still bolder interest displayed in the Anglican reformation at the time of the Interdict controversy. Sarpi's active work in the service of the Venetian government, his literary work as the historian of the council, belong to the atmosphere of a Venice still trying to maintain outside contacts. Sarpi was in touch with German Protestant princes, with Anglicans, with liberal French Catholics and Gallians, with the Netherlands.

One wonders how much Sarpi knew about the contemporary movement going on in the Rhenish Palatinate, stimulated by an English alliance through the marriage of Frederick V, Elector Palatine, with the Princess Elizabeth, daughter of James I. As in Venice, so in the Palatinate with its Anglican Electress, there was an interest in Anglicanism during these early years of the century. And the Palatinate movement was connected with the aims of Protestant activists, such as Christian von Anhalt, who were attempting to stimulate the Union of Protestant Princes into definite action against the Hapsburg powers. The movement aimed at placing the Elector Palatine on the throne of Bohemia; it resulted in the one year's reign of the Winter King and Queen, and ended in total failure with the disastrous Battle of the White Mountain in 1620, which opened the Thirty Years War. Until that hour of doom it was not certain that the movement would fail, and it should be taken into account that Sarpi is likely to have known about it, whatever he may have thought of it, for he was in touch both with Christian von Anhalt and with Christopher von Dohna, the official representative of the Palatinate and chief adviser to the Elector Frederick. At the time of the crisis in 1619-20, Christopher von Dohna made frantic and unavailing efforts to persuade King James to support his son-in-law and daughter, but James had abandoned them and was pursuing a policy of appeasement towards Spain.

The changing attitudes of James I during the first two decades of the seventeenth century are one of the keys to the hopes and disasters of the times. In the early years of his reign, the King appeared to be following in the footsteps of his illustrious pre-

decessor, Queen Elizabeth I, and continuing her alliances with European Protestants and liberals. His intense interest in Sarpi at the time of the Interdict seemed to indicate such sympathies, and when, in 1613, he married his daughter to the head of the Union of Protestant Princes, the Protestant activists thought that they could take his support for granted. But James veered away from his earlier positions towards cultivation of Spain. As Vivanti points out, James's autocratic ideas of Divine Right made alliance with the Hapsburg autocracy congenial to him. It must not be forgotten, however, that both the King's tyrannical ideas and his pro-Spanish policy were detested by many of his subjects. It was the Puritan Archbishop Abbot who engineered the publication of Sarpi's *Istoria* in London in 1619, not the King himself, who at that time was resisting the popular movement in England for the support of his son-in-law, the King of Bohemia, and discouraging that son-in-law's agent, Sarpi's friend Christopher von Dohna.

With his keen political insight and penetrating eye for character, Paolo Sarpi saw that there was no reliable leadership on the liberal side in the forthcoming struggle. Hence his profound pessimism, the pessimism of an intensely lucid mind which saw into the weaknesses, confusions, and dishonesties which were leading Europe towards the disaster of the Thirty Years War and Italy towards centuries of subjugation.

In the stimulating opening pages of his introduction, Vivanti discusses Sarpi's work as a masterpiece of historical writing, comparing him to Guicciardini. The seventeenth-century English translator of the work, Nathaniel Brent, also compared it to Guicciardini's history of Florence, arguing that both historians are concerned with liberty, with the theme of 'antique' virtue in its resistance to oppression. It was thus that the English Whig aristocracy, who imitated Venetian Palladianism in their country houses, interpreted their sympathy with Venice and its theologian, namely as admiration for the ancient virtue of a republic in its stand for liberty. Both in England and in Venice, this ideal was aristocratic and not popular. Nevertheless, it was the ideal of a way of life which did encourage political liberty, of a limited kind, and liberty of thought.

The years covered by the history of the Council of Trent were immensely significant years in European history, and in world history, for they saw the coming to birth of modern science. Sarpi, as the friend of Galileo, was at the centre of that movement at its most significant stage, though unfortunately, Sarpi's

scientific works were never published and are lost. The loss probably deprives us of vital clues for the emergence of the seventeenth-century 'scientific revolution' out of the Renaissance. Sarpi, we know, was influenced by Della Porta, a Renaissance magico-scientist; and he was influenced by William Gilbert on the magnet; Gilbert was profoundly influenced by the animist philosophy of that Renaissance magus, Giordano Bruno. Yet Sarpi and Galileo have come completely out of the world of Renaissance magic and science. The steps through which that emergence took place are as yet most unclear, and it is indeed sad that we do not have Sarpi's scientific work as well as his history. Yet Sarpi's *Istoria* is itself of deep importance for the history of science for it indicates what is the major condition for the advancement of learning, namely freedom. Its account of how what should have been a free association for arriving at truth was manipulated into a tyranny shows the victory of the kind of situation in which free enquiry cannot advance. The condemnation of Galileo was the eventual outcome of the triumph of the reactionary party at Trent. As Vivanti says, the death of Sarpi comes at the end of the great Italian advance. After his death

mentre paesi fino allora arretrati procedettero audacemente sulla via del rinnovamento economico e sociale, intellettuale e politico, altri, che fino allora erano stati fra i più avanzati, si trovarono sempre più retrocessi e implicati in un processo disastroso di decadenza, da cui poterono riprendersi solo dopo che riuscirono a liberarsi delle loro più gravi tare storiche.

It is sadly true, and English-speaking historians too often have little idea of what happened in Italy in the seventeenth century. There is endless talk of the Italian Renaissance and its influence in Europe, but little talk of how 'paesi fino allora arretrati' left Italy to her fate and stole the fruits of her Renaissance.

NOTES

Occasional footnotes have been added by the editors, but in general the apparatus has been left as Dame Frances left it. In all footnotes, books in English and French should be understood to have been published in London and Paris respectively, unless contrary indications are given. Details of original place of publication are given at the foot of the first page of each essay.

2 THE ITALIAN ACADEMIES

- 1 More than thirty years after this paper was written, the gap lamented by Dame Frances is still not filled. There is no satisfactory study of academies in general, nor any equivalent for Italy of her own *French Academies of the Sixteenth Century*, 1947, reprinted Nendeln, 1968. Maylender's great compendium is made more accessible by Giuseppe Gabrieli, 'Repertorio alfabetico e bibliografico delle Accademie d'Italia nell'opera di M. Maylender', *Accademie e biblioteche d'Italia*, X, 1936, pp. 71-99 (also issued separately). A useful brief conspectus is *Università, accademie e società scientifiche in Italia e in Germania dal '500 al '600*, ed. by Laetitia Boehm and Ezio Raimondi (Annali dell'Istituto storico italo-germanico. Quaderno IX), Bologna, 1981. See also *Accademie e cultura. Aspetti storici tra '600 e '700* (Biblioteca dell'Edizione nazionale del Carteggio di L. A. Muratori), Florence, 1979; Eric W. Cochrane, *Tradition and Enlightenment in the Tuscan Academies 1690-1800*, Chicago, 1961;

- V. Gazzola Stacchini and G. Bianchini, *Le accademie dell'Aretino nel XVII e XVIII secolo* (Biblioteca dell'Archivum Romanicum, Ser. I, Vol. CXLI), Florence, 1978 and Carmine di Biase, *Arcadia edificante*, Naples, 1969, among others.
- 2 Scipione Bargagli, *La prima parte dell'imprese . . .* (1578), ed. Venice, 1589, p. 133.
 - 3 *Ibid.*, p. 116.
 - 4 For a different view of the Aldine 'Academy', see Martin J. C. Lowry, 'The "New Academy" of Aldus Manutius: A Renaissance Dream', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, LVIII, 1975-6, pp. 378-420; and id., *The World of Aldus Manutius: Business and Scholarship in Renaissance Venice*, Oxford, 1979, pp. 180-216.
 - 5 Siena, Biblioteca comunale, MS. V.I.1, quoted by Maylender, *Storia*, III, 1929, pp. 355-6; for the foundation of this Academy, see Cochrane, *Tradition*, 1961, p. 3.
 - 6 Paolo Giovio, *Dialogo dell'imprese militari e amorose* (1555), ed. Maria Luisa Doglio, Rome, 1978, pp. 10-11; *Ragionamento sopra i motti e disegni d'arme e d'amore, che comunemente chiamano imprese* (1556), Milan, 1863, p. 4.
 - 7 E. H. Gombrich, 'Icones symbolicae: The Visual Image in Neoplatonic Thought', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, XI, 1948, pp. 163-92; amplified version in id., *Symbolic Images*, Oxford, 1972, pp. 123-95.
 - 8 Mario Rossi, *Un letterato e mecenate fiorentino del secolo XVI: Filippo Sassetti*, Città di Castello, 1899, p. 20, n. 4.
 - 9 Filippo Sassetti's first *Lezione sopra le imprese* was published in *Prose fiorentine*, Florence, 1716-45, Part II, vol. II, pp. 454 ff.; his second, which is the one in question here, exists in two redactions in Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana MS. 2435, fols 48-73. See Mario Rossi, *op. cit.*, pp. 117-19; and on Sassetti, Marica Milanese, *Filippo Sassetti*, Florence, 1973.
 - 10 MS. Lansdowne 845; *Catalogue of the Lansdowne Manuscripts in the British Museum*, 1819, vol. II, p. 203.
 - 11 Salvino Salvini, *Ragionamento sopra l'origine dell'Accademia della Crusca . . . 28 febbraio 1710*, Florence, 1814; MS. Lansdowne 845, fol. 5ff.
 - 12 Id., *Discorso in lode del Vocabolario dell'Accademia della Crusca detto . . . 1709 il 19 dicembre*, MS. Lansdowne 845, fol. 1 ff.
 - 13 Id., *Orazione in lode di Cosimo, Pater Patriae . . .*, printed with *op. cit.* in n. 11 above, Florence 1814, p. 48.
 - 14 Giuseppe Averani, *Orazione funebre . . . in memoria del Sig. Conte Lorenzo Magalotti . . . 18 d'agosto 1712*, MS. Lansdowne 845, fol. 9 ff. (Milton translation fol. 15 ff.; printed in Averani's *Lezioni*

- Toscane*, II, 1746.) The autograph of Magalotti's translation of the first lines of *Paradise Lost* is preserved in the Archivio Ginori-Venturi (Archivio di Stato, Florence). See *Studi di filologia moderna* (Catania), vi, 1913.
- 15 Thomas Sprat, *The History of the Royal Society*, 1667, pp. 40-3; facsim. ed. Jackson I. Cope and H. W. Jones, St Louis and London, 1959.
 - 16 Giuseppe Baretti, *An Account of the Manners and Customs of Italy* . . . 1768, chap. XV, vol. I, p. 192.
 - 17 See Cochrane, *Tradition*, 1961, p. 4; and Maylender, *Storia*, I, 1926, pp. 219 ff. The story of the fat cleric is recounted by Carlo Goldoni in his *Mémoires*, Paris, 1787, I, pp. 419-21; see Maylender, p. 225.
 - 18 Michele Giuseppe Morei, *Memorie storiche dell'Adunanza degli Arcadi*, Rome, 1761, chap. 1, quoted by Giuseppe Baretti, *La frusta letteraria* for 1 October 1763; ed. L. Piccioni, Bari, 1932, vol. I, p. 9.
 - 19 On Corilla, see the literature cited in J. B. Trapp, 'The Poet Laureate: Rome, *renovatio* and *translatio imperii*', in *Rome: The City and the Myth*, ed. P. A. Ramsey, Binghamton, New York, 1982, pp. 119-21.
 - 20 Traiano Boccalini, *Ragguagli di Parnasso* (1612), Centuria I, Ragguaglio XXII; ed. L. Firpo, Bari, 1948, vol. I, p. 66.
 - 21 Baretti, *Account* . . . , 1768, chap. XV, I, p. 188.
 - 22 Pirro Maria Gab(b)rielli, quoted in Maylender, *Storia*, III, 1929, p. 22.
 - 23 Baretti, *La frusta letteraria*, for 1 October 1763, *ed. cit.*, I, p. 9.
 - 24 Vernon Lee [Violet Paget], 'The Arcadian Academy', *Studies of the Eighteenth Century in Italy*; 1880, 2nd ed., 1907, p. 19.

3 TRANSFORMATIONS OF DANTE'S UGOLINO

This paper owes a very great debt to stimulating and informative discussions with my friends and colleagues of the Warburg Institute, Gertrud Bing, L. D. Ettlinger, E. H. Gombrich, Charles Mitchell, and Rudolf Wittkower.

- 1 *Inferno*, XXXIII.
- 2 G. Villani, *Croniche fiorentine*, lib. VII, caps 121, 128.
- 3 Paget Toynbee, *Dante in English Literature*, 1909; and *Britain's Tribute to Dante in Literature and in Art*, British Academy, 1921.
- 4 *Monk's Tale*, ll. 417-72. Theodore Spencer ('The Story of Ugolino in Dante and Chaucer', *Speculum*, IX, 1934, pp. 295 ff.) points out that Chaucer takes the Ugolino story out of its moral setting in the

- Inferno* and makes it a story of pathos. Spencer's analysis of Chaucer's use of the Dante passage agrees, in this respect, with our analysis of its use in the eighteenth century and after.
- 5 Jonathan Richardson, *Discourse on the Dignity, Certainty, Pleasure and Advantage of the Science of a Connoisseur* (in the volume entitled *Two Discourses*), 1719, pp. 25-33; *Works*, 1792, pp. 184-6.
 - 6 Richardson says that his Ugolino examples are 'very Curious and very little Known'.
 - 7 Gray, *Works*, ed. Gosse, 1885, I, pp. 157-60. Quoted by Toynbee, *Dante in English Literature*, I, pp. 232-4.
 - 8 G. Baretti, *A Dissertation upon Italian Poetry*, 1753, pp. 41-50; Toynbee, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 261-2. This dissertation was directed against Voltaire's criticism of Dante.
 - 9 Joseph Warton, *An Essay on the Genius and Writings of Pope*, 1806 ed., I, pp. 250-3.
 - 10 F. Howard, 4th Earl of Carlisle, *Poems*, 1773, pp. 13-17; Toynbee, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 333-6. The *Poems* were printed privately in 1772 and published in 1773; there was a second edition in the same year and others in 1800, 1801, 1812. The Carlisle translation was also printed in the *Annual Register* for 1773, pp. 230-2. It was inspired by the Reynolds picture which was already begun as early as 1770, in which year it is announced in the *Annual Register* (pp. 194-5) and a prose translation of the Ugolino story is given to explain the picture (this translation is not mentioned by Toynbee, but cf. Leslie and Taylor, *Life and Times of Sir Joshua Reynolds*, 1865, I, p. 353).
 - 11 Ed. W. C. Hazlitt, 1871, IV, pp. 187-8.
 - 12 H. C. Jennings, *A Translation of the fifth Canto of Dante's Inferno and of the entire Scene and Narrative of Hugolino*, 1794; Toynbee, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 517-22.
 - 13 R. Wharton, *Fables: Consisting of Select Parts of Dante, Berni, Chaucer, and Ariosto*, 1804, p. 10 ff.; Toynbee, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 657-61.
 - 14 R. Morehead, *Poetical Epistles: and Specimens of Poetical Translations*, 1814; Toynbee, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 647-50.
 - 15 T. Roscoe, translation of Sismondi's *Historical View of the Literature of the South of Europe*, 1823, I, p. 400 ff. In a note on Sismondi's French translation of the Ugolino episode, Roscoe gives a translation by himself in *terza rima*. See Toynbee, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 351-3.
 - 16 T. Medwin, *Life of Percy Bysshe Shelley*, ed. H. B. Forman, Oxford 1913, pp. 247-8; Toynbee, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 385-8.
 - 17 *Translations by Lord Lyttelton and the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone*,

- 1861 ed., pp. 109-15. Toynbee (*op. cit.*, II, pp. 603-5) dates the translation of the Ugolino in 1837.
- 18 Toynbee, *Britain's Tribute*, pp. vi-vii.
- 19 W. Hayley, *An Essay on Epic Poetry*, 1782, epistle III, ll. 95 ff.; quoted by Toynbee, *Dante in English Literature*, I, p. 364.
- 20 Martin Sherlock, *Lettres d'un Voyageur Anglois*, Geneva 1779, translated as *Letters from an English Traveller*, 1780, p. 60. Quoted by Toynbee, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 376-7.
- 21 Anna Seward, *Letters*, Edinburgh, 1811, VI, p. 301 ff.; quoted by Toynbee, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 402-4.
- 22 Lecture on Dante, 1818 (*Miscellanies* ed. T. Ashe, 1892, p. 148); Toynbee, *op. cit.*, I, p. 625.
- 23 Byron, *Letters and Journals*, ed. R. Prothero, 1901, V, pp. 193-4; Toynbee, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 45-6.
- 24 *Life and Works of Tennyson*, London, 1899, IV, p. 41; Toynbee, *op. cit.*, II, p. 315.
- 25 Carlyle, *Lectures on the History of Literature*, delivered 1838, ed. London, 1892, pp. 89-91; Toynbee, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 489-90.
- 26 *Complete Works*, Albany Edition, 1913, I, pp. 122-3; Toynbee, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 408-9.
- 27 *Journals of the Rev. John Wesley*, ed. 1827, IV, p. 484; Toynbee, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 454-5. This remark was called forth on seeing the Reynolds picture (Pl. 2) at Knole Park in 1790.
- Wesley has mistaken the moment in the story which the picture represents (see above, p. 47). It is an interesting comment on unsophisticated eighteenth-century taste that Wesley, believing that the pretty child in the picture is offering himself to be eaten, finds the scene infinitely – and even pleasurably – pathetic. Compare, however, the reactions of Fuseli and Blake (see above, pp. 51-5) to the sentimentality of this child.
- 28 For these computations, see Toynbee, *Britain's Tribute*, pp. vi-vii. The earliest oil painting of Paolo and Francesca seems to have been that by Fuseli in 1786, thirteen years after the first Ugolino picture by Reynolds. The lovers were later compensated for this slight by their great fortune with the Pre-Raphaelites.
- 29 J. D. Breval, *Remarks on Several Parts of Europe*, 1738 ed., I, pp. 137-8; Toynbee, *Dante in English Literature*, I, p. 204.
- 30 Cf. my article 'Queen Elizabeth as Astraea', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, X, 1947, pp. 43 ff.
- 31 See the article by W. P. Friederich, 'Dante Through the Centuries', *Comparative Literature*, I, 1949, pp. 48 ff.
- 32 See J. Richardson, father and son, *Explanatory Notes and Remarks on Milton's Paradise Lost*, 1734, p. 10.

- 33 Medwin, *Life of Shelley*, ed. cit., p. 249; Toynbee, *op. cit.*, II, p. 388.
- 34 The following are only a few specimen titles of literature on the subject from the many that can be culled from T. W. Koch, *Catalogue of the Dante Collection presented by W. Fiske*, New York, 1898-1900.
 Andrea Rubbi, *Conte Ugolino*, tragedia, Venice, 1807; Geppetto Pancani, *Lo stelmino . . . e la morte d'Ugolino*, Lucca, 1836 (in Venetian dialect); Carlo Marengo, *Morte del Conte Ugolino*, Naples, 1850; Domenico Lucilla, *Il canto del Conte Ugolino*, 1858; Filippo Scolari, *Intorno alla morte del Conte Ugolino*, Venice, 1859; G. M. Malvezzi, *Intorno alla morte del Conte Ugolino*, Venice, 1860.
 The popular novel by Giovanni Rosini (*Il Conte Ugolino della Gherardesca*, Milan, 1843) based on the story was translated into English by Madame Pisani with the remarkable title *The Convent and the Harem*, 1851.
- 35 For example, W. Bilderdijk, *Ugolijn* (in his *Nieuwe oprakeling*, Dordrecht, 1827, pp. 179-84); C. Lebeau, *Ugolinus* (in his *Opera latina*, Paris, 1816, I, pp. 89-92); G. Talairat, *Imitation . . . d'Ugolin*, Paris, 1811. For further material, see the Fiske Catalogue, *passim*.
- 36 T. Carlyle, *Past and Present*, ed. A. M. D. Hughes, Oxford, 1918, pp. 3-4; Toynbee, *op. cit.*, II, p. 511.
- 37 J. Ruskin, *Complete Works*, ed. E. T. Cook and A. Wedderburn, 1908, XXXV, p. 637. I owe this reference to L. D. Ettlinger.
- 38 For an outline of Bodmer's and Breitinger's influence, see A. Koster, *Die deutsche Literatur der Aufklärungszeit*, 1925, p. 43 ff.
- 39 See W. P. Friederich, *art. cit.*, p. 50; and the same writer's 'Switzerland's Contribution to the International Appreciation of Dante', *Studies in Philology*, XLII, 1945, p. 452 ff.
- 40 J. Bodmer, *Critische Betrachtungen über die Poetischen Gemählde der Dichter*, Zürich, 1741, pp. 30 ff.
- 41 I cannot discover whether this rather important parallel between Richardson and Bodmer has been pointed out before. In their book on Milton, the Richardsons claim to have spread the knowledge of Milton on the continent through the influence of their books on painting: 'What I would say is, that Our Books of Painting having been translated into French and Dispers'd all over Europe by that means, Especially where any Store of Good Pictures are, and These having abundance of Quotations from Milton as from a Classic, Those being the First Books that have So Considered him: This has given a Specimen of the Whole, which has at least done Some Service to the Name of Milton. . .' (*Explanatory Notes*, p. 121). It would be interesting if Bodmer's enthusiasm for Milton, which he was to

transmit to Germany, and to his pupil Fuseli, was originally aroused by Richardson's use of quotations from that poet to illustrate the discussion of the relation of poetry to the visual arts – as he used the Ugolino quotation from Dante.

- 42 J. Bodmer, *Der Hungerthurm in Pisa, ein Trauerspiel*, Chur and Lindau, 1769.
- 43 On Bodmer and Gerstenberg see A. M. Wagner, *Heinrich Wilhelm von Gerstenberg und der Sturm und Drang*, Heidelberg, 1920, II, p. 301 ff.
- 44 Wagner, *op. cit.*, II, p. 287 ff.
- 45 T. N. Talfourd, *Memoirs of Charles Lamb*, ed. Percy Fitzgerald, 1892, p. 199; Toynbee, *op. cit.*, II, p. 233.
- 46 Jean-François Ducis, *Roméo et Juliette*, 1772, Acte IV; cf. Friederich, 'Dante through the Centuries', p. 50.
- 47 G. E. Lessing, *Laocoon* (first published 1766), chapter XXV. For Lessing's discussion of Gerstenberg's *Ugolino* see J. G. Robertson, *Lessing's Dramatic Theory*, Cambridge, 1939, pp. 161, 460.
- 48 *Discourse on the Science of a Connoisseur*, 1719, p. 25 ff.; *Works*, 1792, p. 186 ff.
- 49 Vasari, *Lives of the Painters*, trans. G. du C. de Vere, 1912-14, VII, p. 47. Vasari's description is repeated by R. Borghini, *Il Riposo*, Florence, 1584, lib. IV.
On Pierino da Vinci see W. Gramberg's article in Thieme-Becker, XXXIV, 1940, pp. 384 ff., with bibliography.
- E. Kris ('Pierino da Vinci', *Pantheon*, 1929, p. 94 ff.) has related the bas-relief to a drawing of the same subject in the Stefan von Auspitz Collection at Vienna. Cf. on this drawing W. Gramberg, *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, LII, 1931, p. 225, note 3; and U. Middeldorf, *Old Master Drawings*, XIII, 1938/9, p. 11 note.
- 50 This seems to be the one which formerly belonged to Fortnum. See C. D. E. Fortnum, *Catalogue of Bronzes in the South Kensington Museum*, 1876, pp. 64-5.
- 51 Henry Trench was a historical and decorative painter who studied in Italy under Giuseppe Chari. He had relations with Lord Burlington. See *Vertue Notebooks*, ed. Walpole Society, III, p. 25; IV, p. 163.
- 52 I am indebted for this information to the Assistant Keeper of the Ashmolean Museum, Mr Ian Robertson.
- 53 *Inferno*, trans. C. Rogers, 1782, pp. 128-9. This well-informed note is not surprising since Charles Rogers – in addition to being the first English translator of the *Inferno* as a whole (see above, p. 33) – was an art collector and connoisseur. His portrait by his friend Reynolds

is in the Cottonian Library, Plymouth, which contains a portion of his collections.

- 54 *Traité de la Peinture etc.*, Amsterdam, 1728, p. 139. See Bottari's criticism of Richardson in his Vasari edition of 1759/60, III, p. 354, note 5. This is probably the source of Rogers's note.
 - 55 H. Fuseli, *Lectures on Painting*, Lecture III (*Lectures on Painting by Barry, Opie, and Fuseli*, ed. R. N. Wornum, 1848, p. 424); quoted Toynbee, *op. cit.*, I, p. 427. Fuseli knew Prince Hoare, the son of the owner of the bas-relief; see A. Gilchrist, *Life of Blake*, ed. Ruthven Todd, Everyman edition, 1941, p. 179.
 - 56 Fuseli, *loc. cit.*
 - 57 Leslie and Taylor, *Life and Times of . . . Reynolds*, I, p. 9 ff.
 - 58 *Op. cit.*, I, p. 353.
 - 59 I am indebted to C. Mitchell for the comparison of the relief in reverse with the picture.
 - 60 Richardson's expression, see above. But Hazlitt complained that the figure of the Count lacked nobility and looked like the 'common mendicant' whose portrait Reynolds had originally painted and which he worked up into the Ugolino picture on the advice of his friends. See W. Hazlitt, *Complete Works*, ed. P. P. Howe, London and Toronto, 1930-34, XVII, pp. 58-9; quoted Toynbee, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 182-3.
 - 61 W. Seward, *Anecdotes of Distinguished Persons*, 1798, III, p. 51; quoted by Toynbee, *op. cit.*, I, p. 555.
 - 62 Nathan Drake, *Literary Hours*, 1798, pp. 247-8; quoted by Toynbee, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 568-9. C. Rogers in his note to the *Inferno* (see above, p. 229, note 53), mentions the Reynolds picture in connection with the Dante passage and the bas-relief, and adds 'What Mr. Richardson despaired of has been since performed by the . . . President of the Royal Academy.'
- Cf. also the 1806 ed. of J. Warton's essay on Pope (see above, p. 226, note 9) where the notes to the prose translation of the Ugolino passage mention Richardson, as the first translator of the passage, then the Reynolds picture, and the bas-relief by 'Michelangelo' which the writer says that he has seen.
- 63 *Quarterly Review*, LVI, 1823, p. 370; quoted by Toynbee, *op. cit.*, II, p. 369.
 - 64 On Richardson's place in the *ut pictura poesis* tradition, see R. W. Lee, 'Ut pictura poesis: the Humanistic Theory of Painting', *Art Bulletin*, XXII, 1940, pp. 241-2.
 - 65 G. Baretti, *Easy Phraseology for the Use of Young Ladies*, 1775, p. 133 ff. Baretti describes himself on the title-page as 'Secretary for Foreign Correspondence to the Royal Academy of Painting, Sculp-

- ture and Architecture', the honorary post which Reynolds had given him. The dialogues were composed for Mrs Thrale's daughter, Hetty, who was Baretti's pupil.
- 66 According to Northcote, Burke (or possibly Goldsmith), on seeing a portrait head hanging in Reynolds's studio, exclaimed that it was exactly suited to represent Count Ugolino, and urged the artist to develop it into a picture of that subject, which Reynolds immediately proceeded to do. Northcote then alludes to the Richardson passage, which he says 'may be read with pleasure as relative to the picture'. (James Northcote, *Memoirs of Sir Joshua Reynolds*, 1813, pp. 174-9. See the discussion in Leslie and Taylor, *op. cit.*, I, p. 353 and II, p. 21.) The head of the Count is said to have been painted from that of a beggar (see above, p. 230, note 60).
- 67 *Conversations of James Northcote*, ed. F. Swinnerton, 1949, p. 26 (Conversation III). Northcote had good opportunities for observing the visitors to the studio, since he posed as the model for one of the children.
- 68 See *The Secret History of the Calves-Head Club*, 1707.
- 69 For Martin Sherlock (see his book cited above, p. 227, note 20), the difference between Dante and Shakespeare is that whilst the Italian poet has only a few 'grand passages' (the chief, of course, being Ugolino), in Shakespeare the 'grand passages' are innumerable.
- 70 This picture is reproduced and discussed in T. S. R. Boase's article, 'Illustrations of Shakespeare's Plays in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, X, 1947, pp. 102-4, Pl. 26 f.
- 71 *Tragedies and Poems*, 1801 ed., p. 282; quoted by Toynbee, *op. cit.*, I, p. 337.
- 72 'On the Genius and Character of Hogarth'; *Works of Charles and Mary Lamb*, ed. E. V. Lucas, 1903-5, I, p. 75; Toynbee, *op. cit.*, I, p. 536.
- 73 Lamb, *Works*, ed. *cit.*, I, p. 150; Toynbee, *op. cit.*, I, p. 536.
- 74 *Works*, ed. *cit.*, I, p. 175; Toynbee, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 409-10.
- 75 See John Knowles, *Life and Writings of Henry Fuseli*, 1831, I, p. 358 ff.
- 76 Fuseli's Academy picture, discussed below, was not his only treatment of the Ugolino theme. Knowles (*op. cit.*, I, p. 234) describes a picture of 'Melancholy', illustrating Milton's *Il Penseroso*, which he says was accidentally destroyed, in which the 'Shadow of Ugolino and his dead Son' appeared behind the main figure. This lost picture illustrated not only the association of Milton with Dante, but also the identification of Dante with Melancholy, for which considerable evidence could be quoted from the English tradition.

The fact that the drawing by Fuseli called 'Head of Ugolino' in the Schlossmuseum at Weimar (see W. Wartmann's Catalogue, *Memorial Exhibition, Kunsthaus Zürich*, Zurich, 1926, no. 3) seems to bear no relation to his Academy picture might also suggest, if its title is correct, that he attempted various versions of the theme.

- 77 Knowles, *op. cit.*, I, p. 290.
- 78 Quoted by Knowles, *op. cit.*, I, p. 385.
- 79 I am indebted to Mr P. Powell and to Mr W. A. Martin for kind help in the effort to trace the picture.
- 80 The echo of this hand in the mailed fist in the foreground, with the adjacent casque, may be intended to suggest the motif of the 'fierce Gothic chief deprived of revenge', the absence of which Fuseli deplored in the bas-relief (see above, p. 45).
- 81 Anonymous, 'Criticism upon the Royal Academy Exhibition', in *Bell's Weekly Messenger* for 25 May 1806, quoted by Toynbee, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 30-1.
- 82 Blake, Letter to the Editor of the *Monthly Magazine*, 1 July, 1806, quoted in Gilchrist, *Life of Blake*, *ed. cit.*, pp. 228-9. Blake's enthusiasm for this picture is illuminating from the point of view of the influence of Fuseli upon him.
- 83 I am indebted to G. Bing for this suggestion.
- 84 Blake, like Fuseli and Northcote, knew Prince Hoare whose father owned the Pierino da Vinci bas-relief (Gilchrist, *Life of Blake*, *ed. cit.*, p. 179).
- 85 R. Wittkower drew my attention to this example, and I am indebted to the Director of the City Art Gallery, Manchester, for information about it and permission to reproduce it.

Literary evidence for the identification of Dante himself with Ugolino could be quoted; for example Hazlitt's remark in his essay on 'Persons one would wish to have seen,' where he says, 'Dante . . . is as interesting a person as his own Ugolino, one whose lineaments curiosity would as eagerly devour in order to penetrate his spirit, and the only one of the Italian poets I should care much to see.' W. Hazlitt, *Collected Works*, ed. A. R. Waller and A. Glover, 1904, XII, p. 30.

- 86 This article does not attempt to discuss all the representations of Ugolino in English art. For indications of examples by George Sidney, J. Gallagher, E. E. Kendrick, and of a projected picture by B. R. Haydon, see Toynbee, *Britain's Tribute*, p. vii, and *Dante in English Lit.*, I, pp. 666, 683; II, p. 442.
- 87 As a pendant to the *Prisoner of Chillon* by Delacroix, we show also the same artist's *Ugolino* (Pl. 5d).

- 88 Medwin, *Journal of Conversations with Lord Byron*, London, 1824, p. 3; quoted by Toynbee, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 48-9.
- 89 *Angler in Wales*, 1834, II, p. 178; quoted by Toynbee, II, p. 383.
- 90 *Letters and Journals*, ed. cit., V, p. 160; Toynbee, *op. cit.*, II, p. 45.
- 91 A list of Italian works of art on this subject is given in Colomb de Batines, *Bibliografia Dantesca*, Prato, 1845, I(i), pp. 326 ff. L. Volkmann, *Iconografia Dantesca*, London, 1899, copies Colomb de Batines's list rather carelessly.
- 92 The formula of seated and immobile despair is here abandoned for one of hysterical movement. Cf. the Witt Collection drawing (Pl. 3b).
- 93 By S. W. Reynolds and by H. Raimbach.
- 94 H. Walpole, *Anecdotes of Painting*, ed. Wornum, 1849, I, p. xvii. Cf. also *Historic Gallery of Portraits and Paintings; or Biographical Review*, 1807, I, p. 26 ff.; quoted Toynbee, *op. cit.*, II, p. 58. I have not been able to see this work, but according to Toynbee, it is there stated that 'the picture of Ugolino by Sir Joshua Reynolds is known by its engraving throughout Europe'.
- 95 I am indebted to Conte Gaddo della Gherardesca who kindly sent the engraving from which the plate is taken.
- 96 'A friend observed to me, "I do not wish Benvenuti to come off with flying colours, like Sir Joshua Reynolds; but I do wish that the greater part of his colours had never been put on." ' H. D. Beste, *Italy as it is; or Narrative of an English Family's Residence for three Years in that Country*, 1828, pp. 196-7; Toynbee, *op. cit.*, II, p. 527. The 'flying colours' presumably allude to Reynolds's sometimes unsuccessful experiments with pigments.
- 97 In the engraving of it dated 1782 (Pl. 1b) the relief is said to be in the possession of the Gherardesca family.
- 98 A. Zobi, *Considerazioni storico-critiche sulla catastrofe di Ugolino Gherardesca*, Florence, 1840. (On this work see E. Steinmann and R. Wittkower, *Michelangelo Bibliographie*, Leipzig, 1927, No. 2099.) A line-engraving of the relief also appears as an illustration to Rosini's novel (see above, p. 228, note 34) published at Milan in 1843.
- 99 J. Laran, *Carpeaux*, 1912, p. 37 ff.
I am indebted to discussions with L. D. Ettlinger and E. H. Gombrich for the treatment of the Carpeaux and Rodin examples, though they must not be held responsible for the tentative suggestions here made.
- 100 Compare Blake and Hazlitt's association of Dante with Ugolino (see above, p. 232, note 85, and Pl. 4d).
- 101 One of the figures in Michelangelo's *Last Judgment* furnishes a

notable model for a brooding and seated figure in hell, and ought also, possibly, to be taken into account in connection with Rodin, though it is difficult to see any trace of it in the other works studied in this article.

4 LODOVICO DA PIRANO'S MEMORY TREATISE

- 1 London and Chicago, 1966; paperback edition, Peregrine Books (published by Penguin), 1969. Page references are to the hardback edition.
- 2 *Ibid.*, pp. 106–7.
- 3 Lodovico da Pirano, *Regulae memoriae artificialis*. The treatise is printed, with an introduction, by Baccio Ziliotto, 'Frate Lodovico da Pirano e le sue *Regulae memoriae artificialis*' in *Atti e memorie della Società istriana di archeologia e storia patria*, XLIX, 1937, pp. 189–224. Ziliotto prints the treatise from a manuscript in the Biblioteca Marciana, Lat. VI, 274, ff. 5v–15r. The codex contains three other mnemonic treatises. The reference for the manuscript which Ziliotto gives on p. 212 of his article (Marciana, VI, 226) is wrong, or at any rate does not work now. I have seen two other manuscripts of the treatise, Marciana, Lat. XIV, 292, ff. 182r ff.; Rome, Vat. Lat. 5347, ff. 1 ff. Only Marciana Lat. VI, 274, names Lodovico da Pirano as the author, but the other two manuscripts are certainly copies of the same treatise. (They are not mentioned by Ziliotto in his article.)
- 4 P. O. Kristeller, *Iter italicum*, London and Leiden, I–II, 1963–7; other volumes forthcoming.
- 5 See H. Caplan's introduction to the Loeb edition of *Ad Herennium*, p. xxvi.
- 6 I am indebted to Ziliotto's article for this and other biographical points.
- 7 Quoted in *The Art of Memory*, pp. 1–2.
- 8 Quoted *ibid.*, p. 15.
- 9 Felice Tocco, *Le opere latine di Giordano Bruno*, Florence 1889, pp. 28–9.
- 10 See *The Art of Memory*, pp. 39–41.
- 11 I.e. the author of *Ad Herennium*; cf. *The Art of Memory*, p. 7.
- 12 See *ibid.*, pp. 7–8.
- 13 See *ibid.*, pp. 75–6.
- 14 See *ibid.*, pp. 9–12 etc.
- 15 On the distinction between 'memory for things' or notions, and 'memory for words' see *The Art of Memory*, pp. 8–9.

- 16 This is a reference to the 'visual alphabets' used in memory; see *The Art of Memory*, pp. 118-20.
- 17 See L. Spengel, *Rhetores Graeci*, Leipzig, 1853, I, p. 316; cf. J. M. Edmonds, *Lyra Graeca*, II, 1924, p. 267; L. A. Post, 'Ancient memory systems', *Classical Weekly*, XV, 1932, pp. 107-8.
- 18 He gives Simonides as the inventor, in the usual way.
- 19 Troilus Boncompagno, *Tractatus super . . . memoria artificiali*, Marciana, VI, 274, ff. 1 ff. (immediately followed by Lodovico da Pirano's treatise); J. A. Quirini, *Libro de la scientia de la memoria artificialis*, Lat. XIV, 292, ff. 179 ff.
- 20 British Library, Addit. MS. 10,438, ff. 19 ff.
- 21 Marciana, Lat. XIV, 292, ff. 182 ff.
- 22 Vat. Lat. 5347, ff. 1 ff.
- 23 Robert Fludd, *Utriusque Cosmi . . . Historia*, II, Oppenheim, 1619, *Ars memoriae*, pp. 48 ff. I have discussed the 'memory cubicles' in Fludd's system in my article 'The Stage in Robert Fludd's Memory System', *Shakespeare Studies*, III, 1967, pp. 156-7.
- 24 *The Art of Memory*, p. 8.
- 25 *Ibid.*
- 26 See Paolo Rossi, *Clavis universalis*, Milan and Naples, 1960, pp. 237 ff.; D. P. Walker, 'Leibniz and Language', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, XXXV, 1972, p. 306.

10 GIORDANO BRUNO

Giordano Bruno: some new documents

- 1 See A. Mercati, *Il Sommario del processo di Giordano Bruno*, Vatican City, 1942; L. Firpo, *Il Processo di Giordano Bruno*, Naples, 1949.
- 2 See A. Rivolta, *Catalogo dei Codici Pinelliani dell'Ambrosiana*, Milan, 1933, Introduction.
- 3 Ambrosiana, B 9 inf. and T. 167 sup.
- 4 P. Rajna, 'Jacopo Corbinelli e la strage di S. Bartolommeo', *Archivio Storico Italiano*, 5th series, XXI, 1898, pp. 54 ff.
- 5 V. Crescini, 'Lettere di Jacopo Corbinelli', *Giornale Storico della Letteratura Italiana*, II, 1883, pp. 303 ff.
- 6 R. Calderini De-Marchi, *Jacopo Corbinelli et les érudits français*, Milan, 1914; R. Calderini De-Marchi and Aristide Calderini, *Autori Greci nelle Epistole di Jacopo Corbinelli*, Milan, 1915. See also the review of these books by V. Crescini in *Giornale Storico della Letteratura Italiana*, LXVIII, 1916, pp. 395 ff.
- 7 *Autori Greci*, p. 25.

- 8 V. Spampanato, *Documenti della vita di Giordano Bruno*, Florence 1933, p. 85.
- 9 G. Bruno, *Opera latina*, ed. Tocco and Vitelli, I (iv), pp. 129 ff.
- 10 *Ibid.*, vol. cit., pp. 223 ff.
- 11 Rivolta, *op. cit.*, pp. liii ff.
- 12 T. 167 sup., f. 172. Quoted in De-Marchi, *Jacopo Corbinelli*, p. 240.
- 13 Spampanato, *Documenti*, p. 43.
- 14 T. 167 sup., f. 180. I am greatly indebted to Dr N. Rubinstein for kind advice and assistance in deciphering and interpreting this, and the following, extracts.
- 15 The stop after 'scritture' is a full stop, but the 'et' does not begin with a capital. There can be no doubt that 'et contro al Nolano' and so on must refer to the contents of one of the 'scritture', because the next sentence starts to discuss 'l'altra scrittura'.
- 16 T. 167 sup., f. 183.
- 17 This is suggested by L. Olschki, *Giordano Bruno*, Bari, 1927, pp. 78 ff.
- 18 Fabrizio and Gaspare Mordente, *La quadratura del cerchio, la scienza de' residui, il compasso et riga*, Antwerp, 1591. On Pinelli's interest in this book, cf. Rivolta, *op. cit.*, p. liii.
- 19 T. 167 sup., f. 190. There is a 'Problema mirabile di Fabritio Mordente' among the Pinelli manuscripts in the Ambrosiana, 9.122 sup., F. n. 239, 16; see Rivolta, *op. cit.*, p. 64.
- 20 A. Favaro, *Galileo Galilei e lo studio di Padova*, Florence, 1883, I, p. 226.
- 21 *Ibid.*, II, pp. 68 ff.
- 22 T. 167 sup., f. 185.
- 23 The word, as written, is certainly 'me', which makes no sense in the context.
- 24 Spampanato, *Documenti*, pp. 44-6.
- 25 *Centum et viginti articuli de natura et mundo adversus peripateticos*, Paris, 1586; the substance of this work was later published at Wittenberg as *Acrotismus Camoeracensis*, 1588 (*Op. lat.*, ed. Fiorentino, I (i), pp. 53 ff.). See V. Salvestrini, *Bibliografia delle opere di G. Bruno*, Pisa, 1926, pp. 77-8.
- 26 De-Marchi, *op. cit.*, pp. 223-4.
- 27 *Ibid.*, p. 47.
- 28 The Abate's interest in books of this kind is mentioned elsewhere in the letters. Cf. the description of a package containing forbidden books as 'cosa dell'Abate del Bene', quoted in Rita Calderini De-Marchi's account, drawn from the letters, of how Corbinelli sent Henri Estienne's *Apologie pour Hérodoté* to Pinelli (*op. cit.*, pp. 104 ff.).

- 29 T. 167 sup., f. 187. In the Ambrosiana volume, the second page of this letter – dated 4 August as in the opening sentence here quoted – has been bound out of its place.
- 30 Corbinelli originally wrote here 'et che'; then deleted the 'che' but forgot to alter 'et' to 'in'.
- 31 This looks like the beginning of a bracket which Corbinelli forgets to close.
- 32 Spampanato, *Documenti*, p. 85.
- 33 'Quello che ha scritto Otomanno contro la Bolla a N——ra che in fatti dice gran cose; ma quel vecchio e uscito del decoro, et passa a molte leggerezze fra molte cose di momento.' T. 167 sup., f. 184. The page is reproduced in facsimile by De-Marchi, *op. cit.*, who quotes its reference to Hotman, p. 175, note 1.
- 34 See Pastor, *History of the Popes*, trans. Kerr, XXI, pp. 282 ff.
- 35 T. 167 sup., ff. 174, 175; quoted by De-Marchi, *op. cit.*, pp. 242 ff.
- 36 A list of works for and against the bull is given in P. Lelong, *Bibliothèque de la France*, Paris, 1768, I, pp. 484 ff.
- 37 There was another edition, Leyden, 1586; an English translation in 1586; a French one in 1587; and in 1602 another Latin edition published together with Bellarmine's refutation and quotations from Guicciardini and Petrarch against the Pope.
- 38 Pastor, *op. cit.*, vol. cit., p. 286, note 2.
- 39 F. Perrot (?), *Aviso piacevole dato alla Bella Italia . . . sopra la mentita data dal Serenissimo Re di Navarra a Papa Sisto V*, Munich (?), 1586.
- 40 Cf. my article 'Queen Elizabeth as Astraea', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, X, 1947, pp. 43 ff.
- 41 Pierre Du Belloy, *Moyens d'abus, entreprises et nullitez, du rescrit et bulle de Pape Sixte V^e*, Cologne, 1585.
- 42 Pastor, *op. cit.*, vol. cit., p. 287, note 4.
- 43 The 'Le Fèvre' to whose house Corbinelli says he will send for Pithou's work might be Nicolas Le Fèvre de la Boderie, author of *La Galliade* and translator of Pico della Mirandola, who was a friend of Pithou's and a correspondent of Pinelli's.
On the other hand, Corbinelli had a secretary called Le Fèvre, and so the reference may be to him. In a letter of 27 July 1585 (T. 167 sup., ff. 168-9) he speaks of 'un mio principale Consigliario et Segretario detto Le Fèvre', adding the rather sinister news that the Duke of Guise has tried to have this man murdered (quoted in De-Marchi, *op. cit.*, p. 236).
- 44 *De iusta & canonica absolutione Henrici IIII christianissimi Franciae & Nauarrae Regis*, Paris, 1594.
- 45 Quoted by E. Picot, *Les Italiens en France au XVI^e siècle*,

- Bordeaux, 1901-18, p. 93, note 1, from a manuscript in the Bibliothèque Nationale.
- 46 For this, and other valuable information on Piero Del Bene, see Picot, *op. cit.*, pp. 91 ff.
- 47 Corbinelli, I think, sometimes speaks in riddles of these matters. There is a mysterious 'Natività', mentioned in very many of his letters of this time, which has something to do with the bull (cf. ff. 176, 182). This 'Natività' is mentioned immediately after the 'mad' writing sent with the 'scrittura' by Bruno (f. 180). See above, p. 114.
- 48 Frances A. Yates, *The French Academies of the Sixteenth Century*, 1947, pp. 199 ff.
- 49 *Ibid.*, pp. 226 ff. Cf. also 'Queen Elizabeth as Astraea', pp. 79 ff.
- 50 On Corbinelli and Henri III, see Rita Calderini De-Marchi, *op. cit.*, and my *French Academies*, p. 175.
- Of Piero Del Bene, Davila says that he was 'confidentissimo del Re' (*Historia delle guerre civili di Francia*, ed. Lyons 1641, p. 398).
- 51 G. Bruno, *Opere italiane*, ed. Gentile, 1927, II, pp. 225-6. Cf. my article 'The Religious Policy of Giordano Bruno', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, III, 1939-40, pp. 194-5, reprinted in my *Collected Essays*, I, 1982, pp. 151-79; and my *French Academies*, pp. 227 ff.
- 52 *Opere italiane*, ed. cit., II, pp. 225-6. The passage alludes to Henri III's device of the Three Crowns.
- 53 *Ibid.*, pp. 64 ff. I believe that this passage, and the following one on Hercules, may refer to some future rôle assigned to Henry of Navarre.
- 54 *Ibid.*, II, pp. 256; ff.; and cf. p. 239: 'qua avete . . . la bestia trionfante viva. . .'.
- 55 *Ibid.*, p. 237.
- 56 Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 258 ff. As Gentile's note points out (p. 259, note 7) the type of literature hinted at here is that which forms the basis of the *De magia mathematica* (*Op. lat.*, III, pp. 493 ff.), where the sources - Agrippa of Nettesheim, Peter of Abano, Trithemius, etc. - are cited.
- 57 *Op. ital.*, II, p. 247.
- 58 On the importance of this bull, see L. Thorndike, *History of Magic and Experimental Science*, VI, pp. 145 ff.
- 59 A. Corsano, *Il pensiero di Giordano Bruno nel suo svolgimento storico*, Florence, 1940, pp. 288 ff.; cf. also L. Firpo, *Il processo di Giordano Bruno*, Naples, 1949, pp. 12 ff.

I believe that this thesis is substantially correct, though I think

that the magical element in Bruno's thought was not merely a late development but present in it from the start.

60 *Op. lat.*, II (iii), p. 237.

61 *Ibid.*, p. 238.

62 By myself, amongst others; cf. my *A Study of Love's Labour's Lost*, Cambridge, 1936, pp. 89 ff.

63 See above, p. 118.

64 T. 167 sup., ff. 170^v-171; quoted in De-Marchi, *op. cit.*, pp. 237-8.

65 I suggested in *The French Academies* (p. 115, note 5) that the attitude to Aristotle in the *Civitas Veri* by Bartolommeo Del Bene, who was a relative of Piero, might resemble that of Bruno.

66 Davila, *Historia delle guerre civili di Francia*, ed. cit., p. 972. (Cf. Picot, *op. cit.*, p. 94.)

67 Translated from the *Confession Catholique du Sieur de Sancy*; see Agrippa d'Aubigné, *Œuvres complètes*, ed. Réaume and de Causade, II, p. 327. Cf. *The French Academies*, p. 224.

68 Spampanato, *Documenti*, p. 66.

69 Corsano, *op. cit.*, p. 290.

70 Spampanato, *Documenti*, p. 70.

71 See Rivolta, *op. cit.*, p. xxii; Favaro, *op. cit.*, II, p. 69.

72 Favaro, *op. cit.*, p. 72.

73 Rivolta, *op. cit.*, pp. xxii, xxxiv, xxxv, xxxvii, xxxviii, xlv, liv. Pinelli was in continuous relations with Alvise Mocenigo (1532-1598) to whom, on one occasion, he writes for a copy of a work on astrology (*ibid.*, p. liv). Amongst his papers is a copy of a 'ragionamento' between Henri III and Marcantonio Mocenigo, Bishop of Ceneda, in 1590 (Ambrosiana, 9.118 sup., F.n. 242, ff. 301-2).

74 Cf. A. Mercati, *Il Sommario del processo di Giordano Bruno*, pp. 56-7.

75 Rivolta, *op. cit.*, p. lxix.

76 The new documents on Bruno's trial which have been recently published show that the main points on which he was questioned were concerned, not so much with his philosophy, but with his interest in magic and in heretics and heretic rulers.

77 Rivolta, *op. cit.*, p. lxx.

78 I have elsewhere argued (cf. *Collected Essays*, I: *Lull and Bruno*, 1982, pp. 156 ff., and *The French Academies*, pp. 228 ff.) that the main theme of the *Cena de le ceneri* is the 'Cena' or 'Supper' or 'Sacrament', with which the theme of the 'movement of the earth' may be symbolically associated.

From the purely scientific point of view, Bruno made a radical mistake in his exposition of the Copernican theory (cf. *The French Academies*, pp. 102-3, note 5, and Pl. 6).

Bruno and Campanella on the French
Monarchy

- 1 See Marc Bloch, *Les Rois Thaumaturges*, Strasbourg, 1924; Jean de Pange, *Le Roi Très Chrétien*, Paris, 1949.
- 2 This descent, clearly illusory from the genealogical point of view if one thinks of the dynastic changes in the history of the French crown, was still claimed in the seventeenth century by the Bourbons. See Jacques de Cassan, *Recherches des droits du Roy et de la Couronne de France* (1632), dedicated to Richelieu. But it is rather from Charlemagne as 'King of the Franks' that the 'Kings of France' descend.
- 3 There is a bibliography of works on Dubois in the article by W. J. Brandt, 'Pierre Dubois: modern or mediaeval?', *American Historical Review*, XXXV, 1930, pp. 507 ff. Despite so many words on the problem of Dubois this problem is not yet entirely resolved, especially as regards the comparison of his ideas with Dante's.
- 4 Pierre Dubois, *De recuperatione terre sancte*, ed. Ch.-V. Langlois, Paris, 1891, p. 12. See the introduction by Langlois to this edition, p. xiii; Brandt, *art. cit.*, p. 512; C.-L. Lange, *Histoire de l'internationalisme*, Kristiania, 1919, I, p. 100.
- 5 *De recuperatione terre sancte*, p. 8.
- 6 'Rex Francorum . . . eius antecessor Karolus magnus'; *ibid.*, p. 106.
- 7 As Lange remarks (p. 98) it is not strictly speaking the universal monarchy of Dante, under a sole *Dominus Mundi*, which Dubois envisages. Nevertheless, his plans aim at a universal peace under the protection of the King of France, and it is probably under the influence of Roman law that Dubois, like Dante, arrived at his enlarged conceptions of the role of the King of France, who, for him, would replace the Emperor.
- 8 On Postel, see Lange, *op. cit.*, pp. 376-9; L. Blanchet, *Campanella*, Paris, 1920, pp. 428-41.
- 9 This is somewhat of a simplification in view of the complex history of these two factions, but the Guelphs being the papal party, and the King of France the traditional ally of the Pope, the alignment Ghibellines-Emperor against Guelphs-King of France has a substantial basis.
- 10 *Orlando furioso*, XV, 26.
- 11 G. Toffanin, *Il Cinquecento*, 1929, pp. 457-8.
- 12 I have sought to describe this movement in my book *The French Academies of the Sixteenth Century*, Studies of the Warburg Institute, XV, London, 1947, pp. 199 ff.

- 13 Giordano Bruno, *Opere italiane*, ed. G. Gentile, Bari, 1927, II, pp. 225-6.
- 14 See A. Corsano, *Il Pensiero di Giordano Bruno*, Florence, 1940, p. 290.
- 15 Agrippa d'Aubigné, *Oeuvres complètes*, ed. E. Réaume and F. de Caussade, Paris, 1873-92, II, p. 326 [see above, p. 128].
- 16 On Campanella and the Spanish monarchy, see Blanchet, *op. cit.*, pp. 44 f.
- 17 Blanchet, pp. 59 f.
- 18 This work of Campanella is printed in L. Amabile, *Fra Tommaso Campanella ne' castelli di Napoli, in Roma, ed in Parigi*, Naples, 1887, II, pp. 291 ff.
- 19 Dubois also had provided astrological reasons for the coming aggrandisement of the French monarchy.
- 20 T. Campanella, *Opuscoli inediti*, ed. L. Firpo, Florence, 1951.
- 21 *Ibid.*, pp. 57 ff.
- 22 *Ibid.*, pp. 107 ff.
- 23 *Ibid.*, pp. 170-1.
- 24 T. Campanella, *Poesie*, ed. Gentile, 1915, p. 201.

Bruno in English

- 1 E. A. Gosselin and L. S. Lerner, 'Was Giordano Bruno a Scientist?', *American Journal of Physics*, XLI, 1973, pp. 24-38; see also the same authors' 'Galileo and the Long Shadow of Bruno', *Archives internationales d'histoire des sciences*, XXV, 1975, pp. 223-46.

II SHAKESPEARE AND THE PLATONIC TRADITION

- 1 Summer 1942, pp. 216-33.
- 2 *Art. cit.*, p. 222.
- 3 *Hamlet*, II. ii. 117; cf. *Julius Cæsar*, III. i. 63-4; *Othello*, III. iii. 463.
- 4 It was largely thrown off before the end of the Middle Ages by the spontaneous development of medieval philosophy. See E. Gilson, *La Philosophie au Moyen Age*, 1925, p. 311 *et passim*.
- 5 See A. E. Taylor, *Platonism and its Influence*, 1925, pp. 23 ff.; R. Klibansky, *The Continuity of the Platonic Tradition during the Middle Ages*, 1939, *passim*. The tradition is fed during the Middle Ages by Arabic, Hebrew and Byzantine currents, as well as by the persisting stream of Latin Platonism.

- 6 Gilson, *op. cit.*, pp. 204-5.
- 7 Klibansky, *op. cit.*, pp. 28-31.
- 8 The letter is reprinted in Klibansky, *op. cit.*, pp. 45-7.
- 9 Pierre Duhem, *Le Système du monde*, 1913-17, II, pp. 478 ff.; III, pp. 9-11.
- 10 *Op. cit.*, II, pp. 486-7; II, p. 10.
- 11 *Op. cit.*, III, p. 17.
- 12 *Ibid.*, pp. 54-5.
- 13 Pierre Duhem, *Etudes sur Léonard de Vinci*, 1906-13, II, pp. 259-60.
- 14 Lynn Thorndike, *A History of Magic and Experimental Science*, 1923-41, II, p. 56.
- 15 Klibansky, *op. cit.*, p. 28.
- 16 Duhem, *Etudes sur Léonard de Vinci*, II, pp. 255-9; III, pp. 49-52.
- 17 *Op. cit.*, II, pp. 260-3.
- 18 Since in the Aristotelian theory the dynamics of the two kinds of matter are radically different, the cleavage between celestial and terrestrial matter was as serious an obstacle to the new science as the geocentric theory. See A. E. Taylor, *A Commentary on Plato's 'Timæus'*, 1928, pp. 88-9.
- 19 Duhem, *op. cit.*, II, p. 260.
- 20 See the notes on sources in Nicholas of Cusa, *De docta ignorantia*, ed. E. Hoffmann and R. Klibansky, 1932, *passim*, esp. pp. 167-79.
- 21 *Art. cit.*, p. 222.
- 22 *De docta ignorantia*, ed. cit., pp. 5-9.
- 23 The expression occurs in the preface to Ficino's *De sole*, but many other tributes of profound respect for Pseudo-Dionysius, whose works he translated, may be found in his writings. For some other references see Klibansky, *op. cit.*, p. 42, note 2.
- 24 *The Cloud of Unknowing*, ed. Dom Justin McCann, p. 103 *et passim*.
- 25 *Symposium*, 186 b-188 d.
- 26 See the chapter 'Come lo amore e maestro di tutte le arti' in M. Ficino's *Sopra lo amore o ver convito di Platone*, 1544, pp. 56-9. (This is an Italian translation of Ficino's *In Convivium Platonis de amore commentarius*.)
- 27 *Love's Labour's Lost*, IV, iii. 295-362.
- 28 True, it is about a French Academy, not an Italian Academy, but there were academies in France, contemporary with Shakespeare, formed on the Renaissance model.
- 29 This is an oversimplification as there are many ingredients in Bruno's thought. Nevertheless he belongs, through Nicholas of Cusa, to the

- revival of medieval Platonism, and he spent his whole life in combating the modern emphasis on rhetorical and linguistic studies to the detriment of the older philosophical learning.
- 30 He maintains, against the Aristotelian doctor who raises the question of the nature of the 'quintessence', that the heavenly bodies are made of the same materials as the earth; and he demolishes the Aristotelian theory of weight with the 'Timaeon' principle of the attraction of parts to the whole. (Giordano Bruno, *Opere italiane*, ed. G. Gentile, 1925, I, pp. 80 ff. and pp. 114 ff.)
- 31 *Ibid.*, pp. 68-9.
- 32 *Timaeus*, 40 c.
- 33 It will be remembered that Duns Scotus, the great Oxford schoolman of the thirteenth century, whose memory became the perfect type of 'barbarous' unintelligibility to the English Reformers (an antipathy which survives in the word 'dunce') is classed by Ficino as one of the admired 'Platonists' (see p. 153).
- 34 *Op. ital.*, I, p. 163.
- 35 See my 'Giordano Bruno's Conflict with Oxford', *Journal of the Warburg Institute*, II, 1938-9, pp. 228-31; reprinted in *Collected Essays, I: Lull and Bruno*, 1982, pp. 134-50.
- 36 *Op. ital.*, I, p. 162.
- 37 In view of this contrast one begins to wonder whether Shakespeare's 'small Latin' may have meant 'barbarous' medieval Latin.
- 38 This is not, of course, the conventional view of the heretic ex-monk who was burnt by the Inquisition. But see the astonishing passages in the *Spaccio della bestia trionfante* in which Bruno is speaking of the old Catholic order in England. Some translated quotations will be found in my 'The Religious Policy of Giordano Bruno', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, III, 1939-40, pp. 182-3; reprinted in *Collected Essays, I: Lull and Bruno*, 1982, pp. 151-79.
- 39 *Op. ital.*, ii, pp. 314-15, 318-19.

12 ITALIAN TEACHERS IN ENGLAND

Italian teachers in Elizabethan England

For a more recent study, see Sergio Rossi, '“The only-knowing Men of Europe”. John Florio e gli insegnanti italiani', in his *Ricerche sull'umanesimo e sul Rinascimento in Inghilterra*, Milan, 1969, pp. 95-213.

- 1 Giovanni Florio, *Firste Fruites*, 1578.
- 2 Giordano Bruno, *La cena de le ceneri*, 1584, dialogue III (G. Bruno, *Opere italiane*, ed. G. Gentile, 1925, I, 64-5).
- 3 Amongst the earliest of these schools was that kept by Peter du

- Ploich, who published a textbook in 1553. There was also an important French school at Southampton kept by Dr Adrian Saravia, a refugee from Flanders. For further information on this subject see K. Lambley, *The Teaching and Cultivation of the French Language in England during Tudor and Stuart Times*, 1920, and Foster Watson, *The Beginnings of the Teaching of Modern Subjects in England*, 1909.
- 4 'Claudius Hollyband' or 'Holyband' was his English translation of his French name 'Claude de Sainliens'. He moved his school more than once. It opened in St Paul's Churchyard; then he moved it to Lewisham; then, later, returned to St Paul's Churchyard, but in a different house. See Lucy E. Farrer, *La Vie et les œuvres de Claude de Sainliens alias Claudius Holyband*, 1908. Selections from Hollyband's dialogues are printed in *The Elizabethan Home*, ed. M. St Clare Byrne, 1931.
 - 5 *Linguae Latinae exercitatio*, first published at Basel in 1539. These dialogues were very widely used in schools throughout the sixteenth century in Spain, Germany, France, Italy and England. They give a vivid and lively picture of the school life of the time. Foster Watson's *Tudor Schoolboy Life*, 1908, is an English translation of these dialogues, and a handy reprint of the Latin text was edited by W. H. D. Rouse, Oxford 1931.
 - 6 See L. Einstein, *The Italian Renaissance in England*, 1902, and Foster Watson, 'Notes and Materials on Religious Refugees in their Relation to Education in England before the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes', *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society of London*, IX, 1911. Not a few of the Italian refugees were distinguished scholars who obtained chairs at the universities, or other appointments, and so could dispense with language teaching as a means of livelihood. Such, for instance, were Giovanni Emanuele Tremellio, of Ferrara and of Hebrew origin, who taught Hebrew in the University of Cambridge in the reign of Edward VI; Alberico Gentile who reached England in 1580 and became Regius professor of civil law at Oxford; Theodore Diodati, the physician, who practised at Brentford, in Middlesex.
 - 7 He was a religious refugee who came over in 1557. See Lambley, *op. cit.*, p. 73, note 4.
 - 8 He was the same man as the Jacopo Castelvetro (nephew of Lodovico Castelvetro, the famous scholar and critic) who had the *Pastor fido* printed in London by John Wolfe at his own expense. See Sheila Dimsey, 'Giacopo Castelvetro', *Modern Language Review*, XXIII, 1928, p. 424.

- 9 For a fuller study of Florio's two manuals see my *John Florio, The Life of an Italian in Shakespeare's England*, 1934.
- 10 First published in 1603.
- 11 *The First Fruits* has been published in facsimile, edited by Arundell del Re, in *Memoirs of the Faculty of Literature and Politics, Taihoku Imperial University*, III, 1, Formosa, 1936.
- 12 In the preface to his *Italian Reviv'd*, 1670, Giovanni Torriano says that there would have been no need of a new Italian textbook 'had not the late dismal Fire destroyed all the Printed Books which concern the Italian'.
- 13 *The Parlement of Praters*, ed. J. Lindsay, Fanfrolico Press, 1928. This is a reprint of the English side of two of the three sections into which *Ortho-epia Gallica* is divided.
- 14 F. Landmann, *Shakspeare and Euphuism*, 'New Shakspeare Society Transactions', 1882. A useful bibliography is given by H. Thomas, in *The English Translations of Guevara's Works*, Madrid, 1930.
- 15 The following are the more important of the many contributions to the study of the origins of euphuism in England: C. G. Child, *John Lyly and Euphuism*, 1894; R. W. Bond, *Complete Works of John Lyly*, 1902; J. D. Wilson, *John Lyly*, 1905; A. Feuillerat, *John Lyly, Contribution à l'histoire de la Renaissance en Angleterre*, 1910; *Euphues*, ed. M. W. Croll and H. Clemons, 1916, Introduction.
- 16 Violet M. Jeffery, *John Lyly and the Italian Renaissance*, 1928.
- 17 See my *A Study of 'Love's Labour's Lost'*, 1936.

An Italian in Restoration England

- 1 Giovanni Torriano, *The Italian Reviv'd: Or, The Introduction to the Italian Tongue, etc.*, London, Printed by T. R. (i.e. Thomas Roycroft) for J. Martyn, and are to be sold at the Sign of the Bell in St. Paul's Churchyard, 1673. There was another edition in 1689 (London, Printed for R. Chiswell, T. Sawbridge and R. Bentley). Some quotations from the dialogues are given by Foster Watson in a note in *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society of London*, IX, 1909-11, pp. 340-3, 430-1. (The date 1670 for *The Italian Reviv'd* which Foster Watson gives on p. 340 seems to be a slip; on p. 430 he dates it correctly as 1673.)
- 2 Cf. Evelyn's description: 'The ruins of the vaulted roof [of St Paul's] falling, broke into St. Faith's, which being filled with the magazines of books belonging to the Stationers, and carried thither for safety, they were all consumed, burning for a week following.' (*Diary of*

- John Evelyn*, entry for 7 January 1666, ed. W. Bray, 1850, II, p. 13.)
- 3 The Fire destroyed the greater part of the impression of Torriano's *Piazza universale*, London, 1666, a huge collection of Italian proverbs with English translations, which he was having printed at his own expense (see the prefaces to his *New Relation of Rome*, London, 1664, and *Italian Reviv'd*).
 - 4 Giovanni Torriano, *Vocabolario Italiano & Inglese, A Dictionary Italian and English, Formerly compiled by John Florio*. . ., London, Printed by T. Warren for Jo. Martin, Ja. Allestry, and Tho. Dicas, and are to be sold at the Signe of the Bell in S. Pauls Church-Yard, 1659. This edition was heavily damaged by the Fire. Torriano says in the preface to *The Italian Reviv'd* that he hopes soon to reprint both it and the *Piazza universale*. The *Vocabolario* was not, however, reprinted until 1688 (London, Printed by R. Holt, and W. Horton, for R. Chiswell, T. Sawbridge, G. Wells, and R. Bentley; and are to be sold by Sam. Crouch, at the Corner-Shop of Pope's-head-Alley, over against the Royal Exchange) when it appeared with a dedication to Maria d'Este, wife of James II, from the pen of one John Davis. From its title-page and dedication it would seem that Torriano was by then dead. The *Piazza universale* was never reprinted and is an extremely rare book.
- Torriano had distinguished publishers. John Martyn and James Allestry were printers to the Royal Society and produced such works as Evelyn's *Sylva* and Sprat's *History of the Royal Society* (see G. Keynes, *John Evelyn, A Study in Bibliophily*, Cambridge, 1937, pp. 126 ff., 277 ff.). Thomas Roycroft, who printed *The Italian Reviv'd* for Martyn, printed Evelyn's translation of Fréart's *Parallel of Architecture* (see Keynes, *op. cit.*, pp. 165-6) and is also presumably the 'T.R.' who printed Sprat's *History*, with its frontispiece designed by Evelyn, for Martyn and Allestry.
- 5 So far as I know these dialogues had not appeared in print before their inclusion in *The Italian Reviv'd*; but as copies of Torriano's rare pre-Fire works are not at present easily accessible it has not been possible to make certain of this.
 - 6 Entitled 'Mescolanza Dolce di varie Historiette, Favole Morali & Politiche, Facetie, Motti & Burle di diversi Scrittori Italiani.' On the separate title-page of the 'Mescolanza Dolce' the printer is specified as 'Tomaso Roycroft'.
 - 7 *Italian Reviv'd*, preface. The different parts of the book are separately paged.
 - 8 *Ibid.*, pt III, pp. 72-3. It will be remembered that Wren's first

designs for the Monument embodied the Phoenix idea (see *Wren Society*, V, 1928, Pls XXXIV, XXXV).

- 9 *Italian Reviv'd*, pt III, pp. 75-6. This building was burned down in 1838. There is a description of it, with plates, in J. Britton and A. Pugin, *Illustrations of the Public Buildings of London*, 1825, I, pp. 287-97. The architect was Edward Jerman and on the front were statues by John Bushnell. Torriano's Italian tourist refers to these with the remark 'for ornament there are two statues of Charles the First and Charles the Second now reigning. They report that the Stone-cutter your countryman, is most rare and excellent in carving of mettal or stone.' These statues survived the fire of 1838 and are now at the Central Criminal Courts. See K. A. Esdaile, 'John Bushnell, Sculptor', *Walpole Society*, XV, 1926-7, pp. 30-1 and Pl. IXa, c.
- 10 *Italian Reviv'd*, pt III, pp. 76-7.
- 11 *Ibid.*, pt III, p. 77.
- 12 *Ibid.*, pt III, pp. 78-9. St Paul's was not completed until 1710. Torriano's Englishman was thus rather too hopeful in his estimate.
- 13 *Ibid.*, pt III, p. 80 (see also p. 74 where he says that Parliament had appointed 'twelve Judges' to deal with litigation arising out of the Fire). Evelyn records on 31 July of this year 'I went to see the pictures of all the judges and eminent men of the Long Robe, newly painted by Mr. Wright and set up in Guildhall' (*Diary, ed. cit.*, II, p. 85.) Evelyn also speaks of judge-portraits by Wright at Guildhall as early as October 1662 (see C. H. Collins Baker, *Lely and the Stuart Portrait Painters*, 1912, I, pp. 182-95; II, pp. 150-1). There are twenty-two portraits of judges by Wright in the Guildhall Art Gallery but so heavily repainted in the eighteenth century that little of the original pictures remains (see G. Scharf, 'Portraits of Judges in the Guildhall', *Archæological Journal*, L, 1893, pp. 264-73). The judges represented are those who served in the Fire Court, the Attorney-General and the Solicitor-General, and it was no doubt twelve of these portraits, newly painted, that Torriano saw in 1673 hanging together in Guildhall.
- 14 John or Joseph Michael Wright had received academic honours in both Florence and Rome (*D.N.B.*, article Wright; Collins Baker, *op. cit.*, I, p. 183). He became a leading London portrait painter and the rival of Lely. His collection of antique gems and coins was visited by Evelyn (*Diary, ed. cit.*, I, p. 369) and eventually acquired by Sir Hans Sloane (see Walpole, *Anecdotes*, ed. Wornum, 1888, II, p. 124). Walpole also says that Wright established his son as a teacher of languages in Rome. His son thus followed the same profession as Torriano.

- 15 *Italian Reviv'd*, pt III, pp. 81-2.
- 16 Evelyn describes seeing Wren one day at Oxford 'in the tower of the schools, with an inverted tube or telescope.' *Diary*, 24 January 1664 (*ed. cit.*, I, pp. 383-4).
- 17 I.e. the scholastic exercises which the speakers have just mentioned. Evelyn tells how the first occasion on which the Sheldonian was used for this purpose 'drew a world of strangers and other company, to the University, from all parts of the nation.' *Diary*, 9 July 1669 (*ed. cit.*, II, p. 40).
- 18 At this time to 'sculp' could mean to engrave (see *Oxford English Dictionary*). In the Italian column this phrase is 'ne porto meco il Modello intagliato in Rame per farne mostra al paese'. It seems, therefore, to have been a copper-plate engraving of the Sheldonian which the Italian intended to display in Italy, perhaps one of those made by D. Loggan in 1669 (see *Wren Society*, V, Plates II and III). On the great contemporary interest which the Sheldonian aroused see G. Webb, *Wren*, 1937, pp. 42-3.
- 19 *Italian Reviv'd*, pt III, pp. 110-11. The Italian also displays great interest in the Bodleian Library which he calls 'the Vatican of England'. (*Ibid.*)
- 20 *Ibid.*, pt III, p. 98.
- 21 See Percy A. Scholes, *Oxford Companion to Music*, 1938, p. 206; Grove's *Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, article Banister. Banister advertised his concerts in the *London Gazette* from December 1672 onwards.
- 22 Roger North, *Memoirs of Musick*, ed. E. F. Rimbault, 1846, pp. 110-12 (quoted by Scholes, *op. cit.*, *loc. cit.*). North confirms that the entrance fee was a shilling and that vocal as well as instrumental music was provided. He adds that the musicians 'whose modesty required curtaines' were situated in a 'large raised box'.
- 23 Rimbault quotes in a note a description of a tavern music-room at Wapping. It was very richly decorated, the upper end, divided by a railing, looking more like a chancel than a music-loft. In the wainscoting were 'whimsical pictures'. (North, *op. cit.*, *ed. cit.*, p. 107.)
- 24 The word 'academy' came to be commonly used for a 'concert'. (See N. Pevsner, *Academies of Art Past and Present*, Cambridge 1940, p. 9.) Of language academies, with their interest in dictionaries, the most famous were the Della Crusca of Florence and the Académie Française of Paris. The 'news academy' or 'académie gazétique' also existed, and the Académie Française was in its beginnings confused with the academy of Théophraste Renaudot, the founder

of the first French *Gazette* (see Pellisson and D'Olivet, *Histoire de l'Académie Française*, 1858, I, pp. 400-4).

25 *Italian Reviv'd*, pt III, p. 125.

26 See the preface to his *Piazza universale*.

27 *En.* With a small expence formerly they might see Plays, and the Pitt was for the Common People, the Tag Rag.

It. So I have heard say, and that then they had not Scenes nor Women Actors.

En. Therefore the Price is raised, as reason it should be. (*Ibid.*, pt III, p. 126.)

They have paid half-a-crown each for seats in the pit.

28 As already explained, these dialogues seem to have been composed earlier than the ones from which we have been quoting.

29 *Italian Reviv'd*, pt II, p. 251.

30 *Ibid.*, pt II, p. 182 (misnumbered 181).

31 *Ibid.*, pt II, p. 240v.

32 *Ibid.*, pt II, p. 219.

33 I.e. 'he has hit it off very well.'

34 'Apponto come si truova à Tivoli in bassi rilievi.' This refers to the stucco reliefs illustrating the *Metamorphoses* which adorned the 'Viale delle cento fontane', the great fountain terrace in the gardens of the Villa d'Este at Tivoli. These reliefs are now almost entirely obliterated. (See V. Pacifici, *Villa d'Este*, c. 1920, p. 43; A. Rossi, *Tivoli*, 1909, pp. 158-9; A. T. Bolton, *Gardens of Italy*, 1919, p. 189.) Some idea of what the terrace looked like in the seventeenth century can be gained from Venturini's engravings (G. F. Venturini, *Le Fontane del Giardino Estense in Tivoli*, Rome, c. 1685) which have often been reproduced in books and articles on Tivoli (see e.g. Pacifici, *op. cit.*, Pls XVIII, XIX). It led to the 'Rometta' fountain with its model of the city of Rome.

Evelyn, on his visit to Tivoli on 6 May 1645, remarks: 'Towards Roma Triumphans, leads a long and spacious walk, full of fountains, under which is historized the whole Ovidians Metamorphosis, in rarely sculptured *mezzo rilievo*.' Evelyn's account of the Villa d'Este is mainly a compilation from guidebooks, though his note on the *Metamorphoses* fountains appears to be original. I am indebted for this information to Dr E. S. de Beer. (*Diary*, *ed. cit.*, I, p. 181.)

If Torriano's words are to be interpreted as meaning that these Ovidian reliefs were copied by painters, perhaps with a view to selling them to foreign tourists for whom the Tivoli gardens were a great 'show place,' this would be an interesting piece of information. The terrace is said to have been designed by Pirro Ligorio and

it was intended that the stucco ornamentations should be moulded in bronze, but this was never done.

- 35 I.e. a unique picture.
- 36 'inamorono proprio.'
- 37 Torriano uses this word as an exclamation.
- 38 *Italian Reviv'd*, pt II, pp. 223-5.
- 39 *The Defence of Poesy* (Sidney, *Works*, ed. A. Feuillerat, Cambridge, III, 1923, p. 9). On the *paragone* in Shakespeare, see *Journal of the Warburg Institute*, II, 1938-9, pp. 260-2.
- 40 *An Account of His Excellence Roger Earl of Castlemaine's Embassy . . . Published formerly in the Italian Tongue, By Mr. Michael Wright . . . And now made English. . .*, London, 1688, p. 11.
- 41 See Evelyn, *Diary*, ed. cit., I, p. 369.
- 42 In the first and twelfth dialogues of his *Second Fruits* (1591).
- 43 See *Journal of the Warburg Institute*, I, 1937-8, p. 114; and above, p. 178. Traces of the role of mythographer associated with that of language-teacher survive in Torriano's 'Mescolanza Dolce', or choice of reading extracts for beginners, one of which is concerned with the 'Numero, forma & natura della Gratie' (*Italian Reviv'd*, pt III, p. 13). Another recalls superficially the atmosphere of the Florentine Academy in a brief discourse headed 'L'Animo dell'Huomo essere inquieto insino à tanto, che tornai là, onde egli è partito' which ends with a quotation from a poem by Lorenzo de' Medici (*ibid.*, pt III, pp. 16-17).
- 44 On the last page of *The Italian Reviv'd* Torriano directs prospective pupils to enquire for him 'At the Sign of Resolute *John Florio*, Author of the *Italian Dictionary*, in *Miter Court* in *Fleet-street. . .*'. Another dwelling of Torriano's is mentioned by Pepys who notes on 30 January 1659-60 that 'I went with them by water to London to the house where Sign' Torriano used to be.' (*Diary*, ed. H. B. Wheatley, 1904, I, p. 37.)
- 45 See F. A. Yates, *John Florio*, Cambridge, 1934, p. 322 ff.
- 46 The walk through London, visit to the Exchange, mention of the theatre, etc., are all themes which Florio had used. And at more than one point one fancies that Torriano had well understood Florio's allusions to Bruno.
- 47 I am indebted for this information to Mr E. Holland Martin who kindly allowed me to see a pedigree of the Torriano family, and for other notes to Miss K. T. Butler who has collected much material on Italian families in England. John and George Torriano were sons of Alexander Torriano, an Italian priest who became a Protestant and fled to Geneva where he is said to have married; he came to

England about 1620, in which year he was chaplain of the Italian church in the Savoy. John Torriano died a bachelor without issue.

13 PAOLO SARPI
Paolo Sarpi's *History of the
Council of Trent*

There are convenient and up-to-date bibliographies of Sarpi and Sarpi studies in Gaetano Cozzi, *Paolo Sarpi tra Venezia e Europa*, Turin, 1979, pp. 285-92, and in John Leon Livesay, *Venetian Phoenix: Paolo Sarpi and some of his English Friends (1606-1700)*, Lawrence, Manhattan, Wichita, 1973, pp. 235-50.

- 1 Traiano Boccalini, *Ragguagli di Parnaso*, 1612, *centuria prima*, *ragguaglio* V. Quoted from the English translation by Henry Carey, Earl of Monmouth, 1669, p. 10. For a study of the reputation of the Venetian Republic, particularly in England, see Zera S. Fink, *The Classical Republicans. An Essay in the Recovery of a Pattern of Thought in Seventeenth Century England*, 1945; and G. P. Gooch, *English Democratic Ideas in the Seventeenth Century*, 2nd ed., Cambridge, 1927, p. 242 ff.
- 2 See L. Pastor, *History of the Popes*, English trans. XXV, p. 111 ff.; L. Ranke, *The Popes of Rome*, English trans. II, p. 228 ff.; *Cambridge Modern History*, IV, p. 669 ff.; B. Cecchetti, *La Repubblica di Venezia e la Corte di Roma*, Venice, 1874; Achille de Rubertis, *Ferdinando I dei Medici e la contesa fra Paolo V e la Repubblica Veneta*, Venice, 1933 (*Reale deputazione di storia patria per le Venetie, Miscellanea*, II).
- 3 This picture (which is of course somewhat earlier than our period: Tintoretto died in 1594) shows the Doge Girolamo Priuli receiving the sword and balance from Justice, and St Mark the Evangelist dominating the group.
- 4 *Vita*, by Fra Fulgenzio Micanzio, in Paolo Sarpi, *Opere*, Helmstedt-Verona, 1761-8, VI, p. 2.
- 5 *Ibid.*, p. 3.
- 6 *Ibid.*, and p. 35.
- 7 *Ibid.*, p. 74.
- 8 *Ibid.*, pp. 16-17; P. Gassendi, *Viri illustris Nicolai Claudii Fabricii de Peiresc . . . vita*, Paris, 1641, p. 222. A long discussion of Sarpi in relation to Harvey's discovery, with citation of many early writers, is given in the preface to an eighteenth-century English translation of one of Sarpi's political tracts (Father Paul, the Venetian, *The Rights of Sovereigns and Subjects*, 1722, 1725, preface).

Dr Samuel Johnson believed that Sarpi was 'not a stranger to the circulation of the blood'. (Essay on 'Father Paul Sarpi' in Johnson's *Works*, ed. A. Murphy, 1823, IX, p. 5.) Since Sarpi's scientific treatises are lost, it is impossible to substantiate the claims made for him by his admirers.

- 9 *Vita*, ed. cit., pp. 16-17.
- 10 The statement is made in many works of reference (see for example *Enciclopedia Italiana*, article *Padova*) and guidebooks that Sarpi made the plans for the anatomical theatre in Padua, built by Acquapendente in 1594 and used up to 1872; the design of some palaces in Venice, notably that of the Doge Donato, is also attributed to him. It is difficult to discover upon what authority these statements rest. An Italian biographer (A. Bianchi-Giovini, *Biografia di Fra Paolo Sarpi*, Brussels, 1836, II, p. 283) ascribes them to a 'lunga tradizione'.
- 11 See F. Grisellini, *Memorie . . . spettanti alla vita ed agli studi di Fra Paolo Servita*, printed in Sarpi, *Opere*, ed. cit., I, p. 1 ff. Grisellini had seen manuscripts which were afterwards destroyed. For modern estimates of Sarpi as a thinker see the essays by G. B. de Toni and E. Troilo in *Paolo Sarpi e i suoi tempi*, a collection of essays published at the tercentenary of Sarpi's death by *L'Ateneo Veneto*, Venice, 1923. Sarpi's name is often associated with that of Locke.
- 12 *Vita*, ed. cit., p. 10.
- 13 Fra Fulgenzio Manfredi, a Franciscan, to be distinguished from Fra Fulgenzio Micanzio, the Servite, Sarpi's intimate friend and collaborator.
- 14 *Trattato dell'Interdetto* in *Opere*, ed. cit., III, p. 152 ff.; *Storia Particolare delle cose passate tra il Sommo Pontefice Paolo V, e la Serenissima Repubblica di Venezia* in *Opere*, ed. cit., III, p. 1 ff. The headpiece to the latter in this edition shows in visual form the opposition between Venice and the Pope (Pl. 11b). The papal tiara on the left is counterbalanced on the right by the horned headdress of the Doge.
- 15 *Discorso dell'origine, forma, leggi, ed uso dell'Uffizio dell'Inquisizione nella Città, e Dominio di Venezia* in *Opere*, ed. cit., IV, p. 6 ff.
- 16 J. A. Symonds, *Renaissance in Italy*, 1914 ed., 'The Catholic Reaction', pt II, p. 114.
- 17 Zorzi Giustinian to the Doge and Senate; *Calendar of State Papers, Venetian*, 1603-7, p. 353.
- 18 *Ibid.*, p. 359 ff.
- 19 *Ibid.*, p. 361.
- 20 *Ibid.*, p. 404. The work referred to is probably Sarpi's *Considera-*

zioni sopra le censure della Santità di Papa Paolo V contra la Serenissima Repubblica di Venetia, 1606 (*Opere*, ed. cit., III, p. 187 ff.). It was translated into English with the title *A full and satisfactory answer to the late unadvised Bull, thundered by Pope Paul the Fifth, against the renowned State of Venice*, 1606.

- 21 See for example Christopher Potter, *Sermon preached at the Consecration of the right Reverend Father in God Barnaby Potter . . . Hereunto is added an Advertisement touching the History of the Quarrels of Pope Paul 5 with the Venetians by F. Paul, and done into English by the former Author*, 1629. The sermon is against papal pretensions and the pamphlet is one by Sarpi describing the efforts of the Cardinal de Joyeuse to pronounce absolution on the unrepentant Venetians (see *supra*, p. 190).

The British Library is rich in literature on the Interdict controversy, for Consul Smith sold his collection on the subject to George III and it is now in the King's Library.

- 22 Logan Pearsall Smith, *Life and Letters of Sir Henry Wotton*, Oxford, 1907, I, p. 89.
- 23 Baron Christopher von Dohna's notes of Sarpi's conversation in Paolo Sarpi, *Opere*, Bari, 1931-5, II, p. 125; also in M. Ritter, *Briefe und Acten zur Geschichte des dreissigjährigen Krieges*, Munich, 1870, II, p. 82. See Pearsall Smith, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 88-9. Sarpi said that Donato was neither a Protestant nor an atheist, but hated the priests and the Pope on account of the liberties of Venice. Wotton informed Salisbury that there was in Donato 'a very great degree . . . of illumination of God's Truth, which, upon my secret knowledge, is likewise in very many of the rest.' (*Ibid.*, I, p. 354.)
- 24 *Ibid.*, I, pp. 90, 417, 462; Philippe Du Plessis-Mornay, *Mémoires et correspondance*, Paris, 1824-5, X, p. 272.
- 25 'He (Bedell) translated the Common-Prayer-Book into Italian, which Padre Paolo and the seaven divines (that preach'd against the Pope by authority) liked so well, that they were resolv'd to have made it a pattern of their publick worship, if they had made a full retreat from the church of Rome. . . .' Life of Bedell by Alexander Clogie printed in *Two Biographies of William Bedell* (by Clogie and Bedell's son), ed. E. S. Shuckburgh, Cambridge, 1902, p. 82. This volume also contains letters from Bedell in Venice to friends in England which give a vivid picture of the Reformation in Venice from his rather fanatical point of view.
- 26 *Cal. S. P. Ven.*, 1603-7, pp. 122, 152; Pearsall Smith, *op. cit.*, I, p. 91.
- 27 *Ibid.*
- 28 *Ibid.*, II, p. 302. The testimonial is quoted in Gilbert Burnet's *Life*

- of William Bedell, ed. 1692, p. 32, and also in the life of Bedell by his son in *Two Biographies*, pp. 4-5. Sarpi and Bedell spent half a day a week together reading the Scriptures and discussing the Anglican controversy; see Pearsall Smith, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 87, 399; *Two Biographies*, p. 244.
- 29 Pearsall Smith, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 98, 447-8.
- 30 'He (Fulgenzio) is resolved to leave the Fryerly course and preach Jesus Christ. . . . There passeth almost noe day, wherein we (Bedell and Fulgenzio) are not for an hour together and . . . we read and conferr about the whole course of the Gospels, on which he is to preach every day this Lent. . . .' *Two Biographies*, p. 250.
- 31 Pearsall Smith, *op. cit.*, I, p. 452.
- 32 Burnet, *Life of Bedell*, p. 120.
- 33 Pearsall Smith, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 93, 161, 446-7; II, pp. 79, 149.
- 34 Izaak Walton, *Life of Sir Henry Wotton* in *Reliquiae Wottonianae*, 1685, sig. c4v^o.
- 35 The Nuncio was constantly complaining to the Doge and Senate of the heretical propaganda being carried on from the English embassy; see *Cal. S. P. Ven.*, 1607-10, pp. 11, 15 ff., 69, 112, 121-2, 152, etc.; Pearsall Smith, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 95-6.
- 36 *Cal. S. P. Ven.*, 1603-7, p. 336; Pearsall Smith, *op. cit.*, I, p. 345 note.
- 37 H. Newland, *Life and contemporaneous Church History of Antonio de Dominis, Archbishop of Spalatro*, Oxford and London, 1859.
- 38 *Two Biographies*, p. 83.
- 39 See *supra*, p. 200.
- 40 H. Grotius, *Epistolae*, Amsterdam, 1687, pp. 43, 44-5.
- 41 The preface is reprinted in Sarpi, *Opere*, Bari, V, pp. 407-9.
- 42 *Petri Suavis Polani Historiae Concilii Tridentini libri octo*, Augustae Trinobantum, 1620. The imprint is false, the book having been really published in London, printed by Bill, the printer of the Italian edition (see *Notes and Queries*, 2nd Series, IV, 1859, p. 123).
- 43 There is also an epistle to the Christian Reader which ends on an apparently impartial note by quoting two opinions, one in praise of the Council by the Jesuit Edmund Campion, and one strongly criticising it by A. Dudith. The Christian Reader is invited to make up his own mind on the subject.
- 44 Nathaniel Brent, *The Historie of the Councel of Trent. . . In which . . . are declared many notable occurrences. . . And, particularly, the practises of the Court of Rome, to hinder the reformation of their errors, and to maintain their greatnesse. . .*, 1620.
- 45 The Latin translation had already reached a fourth edition by 1622;

- see Pastor, *op. cit.*, XXV, p. 212. Later editions of Brent's translation in 1629, 1640, 1656 had other matter added to it.
- 46 *Reliquiae Wottonianae*, *ed. cit.*, sig. c5r.
- 47 Pearsall Smith, *op. cit.*, II, p. 100.
- 48 *Ibid.*, I, p. 150.
- 49 Correspondence in the Record Office, printed in the *Athenaeum*, 9 July 1898. See Pearsall Smith, *loc. cit.*
- 50 Pearsall Smith, *op. cit.*, II, p. 178. According to one of Bedell's biographers, Sarpi gave Bedell, on his return to England, Italian copies of the *History of the Council of Trent*, and of the histories of the Interdict and the Inquisition (*Two Biographies*, p. 87). Spalato came over to England with Bedell (see *supra*, p. 198).
- 51 Lewis Atterbury, *Some Letters Relating to the History of the Council of Trent*, 1705, p. 2 ff.
- 52 Extracts from Twysden's Journal (B.L. Addit. MSS 34163–5) printed in *Notes and Queries*, 2nd Series, IV, 1857, pp. 121–4. For other references to Sarpi manuscripts by Twysden see *Archaeologia Cantiana*, III, 1860, p. 164 ff. A copy of the *Istoria del Concilio Tridentino* (first edition) in the British Library is full of manuscript notes by Twysden.

For a comparison of the text of Spalato's 1619 edition with the manuscript in the Biblioteca di San Marco, Venice, see Sarpi, *Opere*, Bari, 1931–5, V, p. 405 ff. In this edition of Sarpi's works the *Istoria del Concilio Tridentino* (which occupies vols III, IV, and V, edited by G. Garbarin) is printed for the first time from the Marciana manuscript.

- 53 Pietro Soave Polano, *Historia del Concilio Tridentino . . . seconda editione, riveduta e corretta dall'autore*, Geneva, 1629.
- 54 See Pastor, *op. cit.*, XXV, p. 212 ff. on the European sensation caused by the *History*.
- 55 William Camden, *Gulielmi Camdeni, et illustrium virorum ad G. Camdenum Epistolae*, London, 1691, pp. 273, 277, 282, 293.

- 56 Deo Opt.^{mo} Max.^{mo}
 Patri, qui verax;
 Cuius iudicia et opera universa vera.
 Filio, qui veritas;
 Cuius eloquia verbum veritatis.
 Spiritui S. Spiritui veritatis;
 Qui docet orare et adorare in spiritu
 et veritate.
 Deo trino et uni,
 Bonorum omnium largitori
 Munificentissimo;

Spiritus immundi, spiritus carnis,
 Spiritus seductionis et erroris hosti
 Infensissimo;
 Veritatis, candoris, synceritatis,
 Aequi recti propugnatori, assertorique
 Acerrimo;
 Fraudum, fallaciarum, fucorum
 Atque imposturarum vindici, iudicique
 Iustissimo;
 Interpres
 Opellam à se positam in Historia Latino cultu donanda,
 quae & Veritatis è tenebris erutae, & viarum Car-
 nis, atque Artificiorum humanorum in re pie-
 tatis adhibitorum locupletissimus testis,
 Lubens merito dicat sacratque.

- 57 This engraving of the Council, from a picture by J. Van Ulft, appears in a Latin edition of Sarpi's *History* which was published in Holland (*Petri Suavis Polani Historiae Concilii Tridentini libri octo*, Gorinchem or Dordrecht, 1658).
- 58 Two excellent books which bring out the importance of Cassander in German and French liberal Catholicism are G. Constant, *Concession à l'Allemagne de la communion sous les deux espèces*, *Bibl. des écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome*, fasc. 128, 1923, and H. O. Evennett, *The Cardinal of Lorraine and the Council of Trent*, Cambridge, 1930. Cassander's *Opera omnia* were published at Paris in 1616.
- 59 Evennett, *op. cit.*, pp. 250 ff., 403 ff.
- 60 These efforts are the theme of Evennett's book.
- 61 Evennett, *op. cit.*, p. 463.
- 62 *Ibid.*, pp. 465, 467.
- 63 Brent's translation, ed. London, 1629, p. 2. All future quotations are from this edition.
- 64 *Ibid.*
- 65 *Ibid.*, p. 508.
- 66 *Ibid.*, p. 510.
- 67 *Ibid.*, p. 516.
- 68 *Ibid.*, p. 603.
- 69 *Ibid.*, p. 629.
- 70 *Ibid.*, p. 653. See also J. Le Plat, *Monumentorum ad historiam concilii Tridentini illustrandam . . . collectio*, Louvain, 1781-7, V, p. 637.
- 71 Brent's translation, *ed. cit.*, p. 531.
- 72 *Ibid.*, p. 771 ff.

- 73 Grisellini, *Memorie in Opere*, ed. cit., I, pp. 19-20; Paolo Sarpi, *Lettere*, ed. F.-L. Polidori, Florence, 1863, pp. 52-6, 65, - etc.; ed. M. D. Busnelli in Sarpi, *Opere*, Bari, I, 1931, p. 14 ff.
- 74 Antonio De Dominis, Archbishop of Spalato, *De republica ecclesiastica . . . cum utilissimo Georgi Cassandri tractatu, de officio pii viri circa religionis Dissidia, qui libro septimo appendicis loco subjicitur*, Frankfurt, 1658.
- 75 Edward Brown, Rector of Sundridge in Kent, *The Letters of the Renowned Father Paul*, 1693, preface, p. xxxix. The Dutch edition of the *History of the Council of Trent* (see *supra*, p. 256, note 57) has prefixed to it a letter from A. Dudith to the Emperor Maximilian II on the granting of the Cup to the laity and the marriage of priests. Dudith is also quoted in the first Latin edition of the *History* (see *supra*, p. 199 and note 42) and in early editions of the English translation.

Dudith, a Hungarian, had been a representative at the Council of Trent of the Emperor Ferdinand I's liberal policy. He expressed himself so freely on the marriage of priests, communion *sub utraque*, and other points that the Pope asked the emperor to withdraw him; the latter did so but instead of condemning his conduct honoured him with many benefices. Ferdinand's son, Maximilian II, also continued to employ him. The letter from Dudith to Maximilian before the Dutch edition of the *History* thus relates it back to the 'conciliating' policy on its imperial and German side.

In his earlier years, Dudith had visited England in the suite of Cardinal Pole, and he afterwards translated Beccatelli's life of Pole. He thus goes right back to the Pole-Contarini-Melanchthon circle.

- 76 Pearsall Smith, *op. cit.*, I, p. 341.
- 77 *Premonition to all most Mighty Monarchs, Kings, Free Princes, and States of Christendom*, 1609. Reprinted in *Political Works of James I*, ed. C. H. McIlwain, Cambridge, Mass., 1918, pp. 110-68.
- 78 *Cal. S. P. Ven.*, 1607-10, p. 345.
- 79 It could, I believe, be proved that Donne, who was a close friend of Wotton's, held a theological position similar to that of Sarpi. Edward Brown (*op. cit.*, p. ix), after quoting from Donne's *Pseudo-Martyr*, calls its author 'a very good friend of Father Paul's'. Donne's *Pseudo-Martyr* (1610) is written against the Pope's temporal jurisdiction; it refers to the 'fresh Historie of the Venetians', and one of the first names to be met with in it is that of Cassander 'whom the . . . Emperors . . . consulted . . . in matters of Doctrine, and for a way of Reformation. . . .'

- On the portrait of Sarpi owned by Donne see *supra*, pp. 210, 214.
- 80 They were kept up with increased brilliance during the Interdict,

partly to reassure the people and partly as a gesture of defiance. Cf. Wotton's description of the Corpus Christi procession in 1606 with its gold and silver ornaments valued at £2,000,000 sterling (Pearsall Smith, *op. cit.*, I, p. 350). In this procession were costly and curious pageants 'adorned with sentences of Scripture fit for the present, as *Omnis potestas est a Deo, Date Caesari quae Caesaris et Deo quae Dei. . . .*'

81 Pearsall Smith, *op. cit.*, II, p. 231.

82 *Cal. S. P. Ven.*, 1603-7, p. 334; Pearsall Smith, *op. cit.*, I, p. 59.

83 Philippe Canaye, Seigneur de Fresnes, *Lettres et Ambassade*, Paris, 1635-6, II, p. 447; Pearsall Smith, *loc. cit.*

Canaye, who was the French ambassador to Venice at the time of the Interdict, made in 1602 the following observation as to the religious and moral state of the Republic: 'J'aye trouué Venize, quant à l'exterieur tout tel qu'il estoit il y a trente ans, si me semble-il que le vice n'y est pas du tout si eschauffé, ny si libre, ny si honoré comme il me souuient de l'y auoir veu. La pitié & charité m'y semble fort accruë. Les Eglises y sont extremement parées & bien seruies. . . . Musiques, Concerts d'instruments, Prescheurs eloquens; bref tout ce qui se peut desirer pour la consolation de l'ame abonde icy autant qu'en ville de Chrestienté' (*op. cit.*, I, p. 120).

84 *Elements of Architecture*, in *Reliquiae Wottonianae*, ed. cit., p. 34.

85 Table Talk, printed from a manuscript by Pearsall Smith, *op. cit.*, II, p. 494.

86 *Elements of Architecture*, in *Reliquiae Wottonianae*, ed. cit., pp. 4-5. The *Elements of Architecture* was first published in 1624 and often reprinted. The edition by S. T. Prideaux, London, 1903, has ornamental designs by Herbert Horne.

87 Pearsall Smith, *op. cit.*, II, p. 486. (The list is in the Bodleian Library, Tanner MS. 88, f. 142.) Pearsall Smith believes that the discourse by Galileo referred to is *Discorso al serenissimo Don Cosimo II, Gran Duca di Toscana, intorno alle cose che stanno in su l'acqua o che in quella si muovono. . . .*, Florence, 1612.

88 The list with its emphasis on mechanics and mathematics is close to the philosophical tastes of Sarpi, who was in contact with Galileo and interested in architecture (see *supra*, p. 191).

Giordano Bruno, who came on a politico-religious mission to England in 1583-5 and whose books published in England have the false imprint 'Venezia', wrote in the *Cena de le ceneri* a kind of 'colloquy' on the Sacrament with which he combined a mystical Copernican philosophy (see *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, III, 1939-40, pp. 181-207; and my *Collected Essays*, I, 1982, pp. 151-79). When Bruno returned to Italy in 1592 it was to

Venice that he went and there he frequented the same liberal circles as Sarpi (notably the 'Academy' of Andrea Morosini). It would appear that the contacts between Anglicanism and the Republic had already begun by then, for in 1593, the year after the Venetian Inquisition had surrendered Bruno to Rome, 'Clement VIII called the attention of the Venetian ambassador to the fact that the English were carrying on Calvinistic propaganda in the city of the lagoons.' (Pastor, *op. cit.*, XXIV, p. 214.)

Sarpi's treatise on the Inquisition is written against just such cases as that of Bruno in which the Roman Inquisition forced the Venetian Inquisition to send the victim to Rome for trial. It was translated into English by Robert Gentilis (Paolo Sarpi, *History of the Inquisition*, trans. R. Gentilis, 1639), who was the son of the Alberico Gentilis who appears as 'Albertino' in some of Bruno's dialogues and who was a friend of Wotton's.

To the student of Anglo-Venetian religious exchanges of the period there is nothing at all surprising in the death of Bruno in the Campo de' Fiori in 1600.

89 Pearsall Smith, *op. cit.*, I, p. 60; II, pp. 243, 257-8.

90 *Ibid.*, I, pp. 60, 419.

91 *Ibid.*, I, p. 216. See E. Law, *The Royal Gallery of Hampton Court*, London, 1898, p. 191. The portraits are by Odoardo Fialetti, and include one of Leonardo Donato (Pl. 9c), the 'liberal' Doge of the time of the Interdict controversy. The picture by Fialetti which shows Wotton in audience with the Doge (Donato) and Senate (Pl. 8b) is also at Hampton Court.

92 Pearsall Smith, *op. cit.*, I, p. 399.

93 *Ibid.*, I, pp. 407-8.

94 *Vita*, in *Opere*, ed. cit., VI, p. 59.

95 *Cal. S. P. Ven.*, 1607-10, p. 64.

96 Pearsall Smith, *op. cit.*, II, p. 371.

97 *Ibid.*, II, p. 479. On this portrait see also Mrs Reginald Lane Poole, *Catalogue of Portraits in Oxford*, Oxford, 1912, I, p. 35.

98 *Vita*, by Fulgenzio in *Opere*, loc. cit. See Symonds, *op. cit.*, volume cited, p. 104.

99 A similar portrait, but without the inscription, from a private collection, was reproduced in the *Connoisseur*, May 1910. Pearsall Smith thinks (*op. cit.*, II, p. 479) that the engraving by John Pine, which was published in the English translation of Sarpi's *Rights of Sovereigns and Princes*, 1722, corresponds in features and attitude to this picture and may have been made from the original or one of the replicas.

100 A letter written in 1692 states that the portrait given by Wotton to

Dr Collins was 'the only second copy . . . yet done in the whole world, the first being presented to the King.' Letter from Edward Brown to Rev. Samuel Blithe, Master of Clare Hall, Cambridge (Bodleian, Tanner MS. 25, fol. 366), quoted in *Cal. S. P. Ven.*, 1607-10, p. xxxvi, note.

Fra Fulgenzio says in his life of Fra Paolo that the latter would never have his portrait painted and the only existing likeness of him was taken 'con bel stratagemma' and is 'in the palace of a great king'. (*Vita*, in *Opere*, ed. cit., VI, p. 75.) This presumably refers to the one given by Wotton to James, which Wotton says 'was first taken by a painter whom I sent unto him [Fra Paolo] from my house then neighbouring his monastery'. (Pearsall Smith, *op. cit.*, II, p. 371.)

Fulgenzio's statement that there was only one portrait made of Sarpi is not accurate.

101 Richard Lassels, *The Voyage of Italy*, Paris, 1670, p. 400. The portrait was in the fourth of the 'sale d'arme' and is not recorded by any other writer but Lassels; see F. Zanotto, *Il Palazzo Ducale di Venezia*, Venice, 1858, II, p. 16.

102 Lewis Atterbury, *op. cit.*, p. 2.

103 *Notes and Queries*, 2nd series, IV, p. 122. These portraits were formally at Roydon Hall, the Twysden seat, but about 1857 were given into the care of a young artist living in furnished rooms in London. He ran into debt, was sold up, and the portraits were never seen again.

Still another person who is said to have brought a portrait of Sarpi to England is Bedell (*Two Biographies*, p. 87).

104 'To Doctor King my executor I give that medal of gold of the synod of Dort which the estates presented me withal at the Hague as also the two pictures of Padre Paolo and Fulgentio which hang in the parlour at my house at Paul's.' (Donne's will, quoted in E. Gosse, *Life and Letters of John Donne*, 1899, II, p. 360.)

105 Pearsall Smith, *op. cit.*, II, p. 371.

106 The study of the *History* in France ought to be preceded by a study of the survival of the 'liberal' Catholic policy in France after the Council of Trent, and its relation to England. Personalities in this policy were Cardinal Du Perron, the converter of Henri IV who hoped to convert James I, to achieve which end he was willing to disallow the Council of Trent, as his *Catholick Moderator* (1623-4) shows, and Isaac Casaubon, a French Huguenot converted to Anglicanism and a great admirer of its rites and ceremonies and of its 'middle' position as a Catholic type of Reformation. Casaubon was in touch with Du Perron. The French liberal Catholic policy to-

- wards England was different in temper from that of Sarpi. One might call it in Anglican terminology more 'High Church'. Henri IV and his advisers did not approve of Sarpi's 'Reformation' in Venice and the French intervention facilitated the resumption of relations between Venice and the Papacy. Thus Sarpi's *History* was received in France with mixed feelings (see the views of Du Puy and Peiresc, quoted *supra*, p. 202). On the one hand it told a story which some Gallican Catholics regarded as their own; on the other hand it came with embarrassingly ultra-Protestant associations.
- 107 Paolo Sarpi, *Histoire du Concile de Trente*, trans. Giovanni Diodati, Geneva, 1621. This Diodati was the uncle of Milton's friend.
- 108 Jean Diodati, *Histoire du Concile de Trente*, 1665. This is said to be the fourth edition.
- 109 Brent, *Historie of the Councel of Trent*, ed. 1629, p. 850. See F. Guicciardini, *Storia d'Italia*, X.
- 110 See E. Lavissee, *Histoire de France*, 1906, VII, p. 14 ff.
- 111 Sieur de la Mothe-Josseval, *Histoire du Concile de Trente de Fra Paolo Sarpio*, Amsterdam, 1683.
- 112 Amelot de la Houssaye, *Histoire du Concile de Trente de Fra Paolo Sarpi, Théologien du Sénat de Venise*, Amsterdam, 1686.
- 113 Amelot de la Houssaye, *Histoire du gouvernement de Venise*, 1676, p. 1. In spite of this beginning, Houssaye's book is not altogether favourable to Venice. See Fink, *op. cit.*, p. 142 ff.
- 114 Sforza Pallavicino, *Istoria del Concilio di Trento*, Rome, 1656, 1664, etc. There had been other attempts at studies of the Council from the Roman side, but all were eclipsed by Pallavicino.
- 115 Ranke, *op. cit.*, ed. cit., III, pp. 209-27.
- 116 Pallavicino, *op. cit.*, 1664 ed., pp. 4 ff., 12 ff.
- 117 Houssaye, *op. cit.*, preface. De la Houssaye mentions in this preface that the Venetian Senate forbade the publication of Pallavicino's book within their domains. This is true, the reason given for the refusal being that the book was not purely a history of the Council of Trent, to which there would have been no objection, but an attack on the memory of a faithful servant of the Republic, namely Fra Paolo. (The document containing the record of Pallavicino's request that his book might be disseminated in the Republic, and the official refusal, is quoted in Cecchetti, *op. cit.*, I, p. 78.)
- 118 Lavissee, *op. cit.*, vol. cited, p. 21 ff.
- 119 *Dictionary of National Biography*, article William Wake.
- 120 E. Préclin, *L'Union des Eglises gallicane et anglicane . . . P.-F. le Courayer . . . et Guillaume Wake*, 1928.
- 121 Pierre François Le Courayer, *Histoire du Concile de Trente*, London, 1736.

- 122 Basil Williams, *The Whig Supremacy*, Oxford, 1939, p. 75.
- 123 Préclin, *op. cit.*, p. 120.
- 124 The painting by Amigoni from which this engraving was taken is still at Wrest Park; there is a photograph of it at the National Portrait Gallery. (I am indebted to Mr C. K. Adams for this information; see now John Kerslake, *National Portrait Gallery: Early Georgian Portraits*, 1977, pp. 34-6.) Vertue has taken some liberties with the original in his engraving.

Born in Venice in 1675, Amigoni came to London in 1729 where he painted some portraits and some interior decorations, notably in Covent Garden Opera House. In 1736 he left England for France with the singer Farinelli.
- 125 See *supra*, p. 210.

A similar type appeared in the *Life of . . . Father Paul . . . translated out of Italian by a person of quality*, 1651, engraved by Lombart; in the *Letters of the Renowned Father Paul*, trans. Edward Brown, 1693, engraved by Sturt; in the edition of Le Courayer's translation of the *Histoire du Concile de Trente*, Amsterdam, 1751, engraved by F. Lucas. (See *Notes and Queries*, 10th series, III, p. 145.) Perhaps this type derives from the portraits imported by Brent or Twysden, as distinct from the 'Eviscerator' type sent over by Wotton.
- 126 *Vita*, in Sarpi, *Opere*, *ed. cit.*, p. 96. Parts of the *Life* by Fulgenzio are translated by Le Courayer and printed before the *Histoire*, including this passage, pp. lv-lvi.
- 127 Le Courayer, *op. cit.*, p. lvii.
- 128 *Ibid.*, p. xvi.
- 129 *Ibid.*, p. vi.
- 130 *Ibid.*, p. iv.
- 131 *Ibid.*, p. iii.
- 132 Brent, *Historie of the Council of Trent*, ed. 1629, p. 850.
- 133 *Vita*, in *Opere*, *ed. cit.*, VI, p. 104. *Esto Perpetua* is the motto of Eton College, of which Sir Henry Wotton became provost the year after Sarpi's death. Pearsall Smith hints at a possible connection (*op. cit.*, I, p. 191, note 2).
- 134 See Fink (work cited *supra*, p. 251, n. 1).
- 135 A very similar figure occurs on the title-page of the 1761 ed. of Sarpi's *Opere*. This may be derived from the Le Courayer edition. Grisellini had certainly used Le Courayer's preface for his *Memorie* published in this edition of the *Opere*. There was an Italian translation of Le Courayer's translation and notes published in 1757, with the false imprint 'Londra'.
- 136 Boswell's *Life of Johnson*, I, chap. II. In his essay on Sarpi, Johnson

emphasises that 'many passages in his life' show him to have had a high esteem for the Church of England. He also tells the story of how Father Fulgenzio administered 'the communion in both kinds, according to the Common Prayer which he had with him in Italian' to an Englishman who fell sick and died in Venice. (Johnson, *Works*, ed. cit., IX, p. 10.)

A new edition of Paolo Sarpi

- 1 Naples, 1969.
- 2 Corrado Vivanti, 'Una fonte dell' *Istoria del Concilio Tridentino* di Paolo Sarpi', *Rivista storica italiana*, LXXXIII, 1971, pp. 608-32.
- 3 *Concilium Tridentinum: Diariorum, actorum, epistularum, tractatum nova collectio edidit Societas Goerresiana* [Görresgesellschaft], Freiburg-i.-B., X, *Epistulae*, ed. G. Buschbell, 1916; cf. H. Jedin, *Das Konzil von Trient. Ein Überblick über die Erforschung seiner Geschichte*, Rome, 1948, pp. 195-213.

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